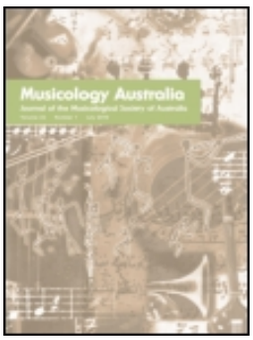Routledge
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The Dunhuang lute-manuscript transcribed by Coralie Rockwell

Laurence Picken

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The Dunhuang Lute-Manuscript transcribed by Coralie Rockwell

with Foreword and Afterword by Laurence Picken
Jesus College, Cambridge

Abstract: As the only extended musical document in notation of 10th-century date from the north-western oasis of Dunhuang (Lanzhou, China), this manuscript has intrigued Sinologists and musicologists since its discovery by Paul Pelliot in the cave-library there. It is published here for the first time in complete transcription and facsimile. Its musical style is determined in part by the instrument, in part by function. The pieces it contains may be regarded either as lute accompaniments for songs whose texts are mostly still unknown or as versions of these songs for solo lute performance. Although written in the lute-tablature of the Tang capital, its music differs from the Court Entertainment Music of Chang'an.

Foreword

Unpublished papers of the late Coralie Rockwell, entrusted to Laurence Picken, comprised the following items, typed, or hand-written in print-characters, in original or photocopied:

1 a paper in typescript: 'Some recent interpretations of the tenth-century Chinese Dunhuang Pipa tablature';
2 a draft-transcription of that manuscript, written by hand in print-characters, transcribed by her in the light of all work published by Chinese scholars up to the year 1990;
3 a photocopy of an evidently final version of that draft, carefully hand-written in print-characters, with a photocopy of each manuscript item, made by her from the published facsimile of the manuscript: Pelliot 3808 (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris), each such photocopy of an item in the MS marked to display her barring, serial numbering of notes / beats, position of principal drum-beat, etc.;
4 a paper in typescript: 'Report on work in progress: Transcription of P. 3808'.

Of this list of items, Item 1 is a review (with extensive translated quotations) of publications by two scholars in the field of early Chinese music, with special reference to the Dunhuang Manuscript (Pelliot 3808—see Mission Paul Pelliot 1960–71): Ye Dong (1982: 28 pages) and He Changlin (1985: 9 pages). The extracts she quoted in translation relate mainly to readings of the tablature-signs proposed by Ye Dong, and to the history and probable date of the two musical manuscripts examined by He Changlin: Pelliot 3539 and Pelliot 3808. She limited her role to that of reporter and translator, offering no criticism.

Rockwell had originally intended to extend this review to cover the work of Professor Chen Yingshi of The Shanghai Conservatory of Music (*Shanghai yinyue xueyuan*). He had published, along with an essay, a 24-page transcription of the complete set of 25 items from Pelliot 3808 (Chen 1990), of which Rockwell had a personal photocopy. Rather than review his work in summary, however, she undertook a complete translation of a different paper, which was published for her posthumously (Chen 1991). This paper gives the best account in English of the manuscript itself, summarizes the views of other Chinese scholars, and makes important comments on changes over time in the interpretation by the Japanese scholar Hayashi Kenzō, the pioneer of studies of this manuscript. Although her own interpretation of the manuscript differs markedly from Chen's, Rockwell avoided contradicting her old friend and teacher, allowing him to speak for himself in her translation. Perhaps she also considered polemics unnecessary, hoping that the eventual publication of her own transcription would put a positive, and compelling, case for her reading of the manuscript's notational symbols.

Item 4 (dated 'November 28, 1990') was evidently written when Item 3 was complete as it now stands. In it she advocates the view that the brush-written small square to the right of graphs in the column of pitch-symbols indicates a note on which the principal drum-beat falls in a measure. The pitch-symbols themselves designate fret-positions on each of the four strings of a lute, the Chinese *pipa*. On plucking a given string stopped at a given fret, the pitch obtained will depend on the tuning of the open string; in order to transcribe the manuscript, therefore, knowledge of tunings is essential.

As briefly summarized by Wells (1993: 60) in the light of a survey by him of Chinese studies over the past thirty years, the scores of the Dunhuang scroll 'probably represent the practice of tenth-century China (just after the fall of the Tang in AD 906) . . .' (The text on the verso of Pelliot 3808 is a sermon preached in 933 in the presence of Emperor Mingzong of the Posterior Tang dynasty.)

In her transcriptions of the scores, Rockwell expressly accepted the tuning-values first proposed by Hayashi (1955). These were later accepted also by Chen (1988). She specifically excludes from her discussion 'the position of the other extracolumnary [comma-like] dots written to the right of the tablature symbols', but refers

to the possibility that such dots perform some 'mensural' function. She is punctilious in reproducing them in her scores in staff-notation, but was evidently unaware that their use is defined in the tenth-century lute-manuscript: *Fushimi-no-miya bon biwafu* (The Lute-Score of the House of Fushimi-no-miya) a National Treasure of the Library of the Imperial Palace in Tokyo *Kunaichō shoryōbu*.

The use of dots—as indicators of the direction of the plucking-stroke, and of the finger to be used—had been made plain by Wolpert (1977: 121–2) in his detailed description, translation, and transcription of that manuscript. A dot to the right of the fret-sign denoted the *tiao*-movement of the plucking finger, as defined in the finger-technique of the 7-stringed zither *guqin* or *qixian-qin*. That is to say, the plucked string leaves the plucking-finger from the distal edge of the nail, rather than from the tip of the finger or ball of the thumb. In one instance in transcription into staff-notation (item III. 4, p. 163), Wolpert shows the thumb (as specified in the tablature) executing such a retroflex stroke. On the *qin*, such strokes are perhaps more frequently executed by the thumb, but they are not confined to the thumb.

Recently, Wells (1993: 64–5) has argued at length that these dots indicate a retroflex stroke of the finger that plucks the string stopped at that fret. His argument is supported by the observation that 'the commas are in perfect positions to represent up-strokes'; but Wells also has evidently not seen the relevant passage in Wolpert's paper of 1977. In Hayashi's first extended paper on the manuscript, published in 1955, he expressly states that he does not know the meaning of this dot, but he already identifies the small square as marking the bass-drum beat, and hence as equivalent to the Sino-Japanese lexigraph *hyaku / bai* or a solid vermilion circle, as used in *Tōgaku* scores. In the same paper Hayashi regards the Sino-Japanese character *tei / ding* as opposite in its significance to the character *ka / huo*, supposing it to signify a doubling (or more than a doubling) of a unit silent beat, and to be an abbreviation of the character *ting*, meaning 'to stop'. Wells notes that Hayashi himself gives no authority for his decision (in 1969) to accept that tablature-signs with a dot to the right were played with an up-stroke of the finger. At some date, however, Hayashi had certainly seen the entire contents of the Fushimi-no-miya manuscript as now constituted, although perhaps he had not done so already in 1955.

Because of the different tone-colour of notes generated by an up-stroke—since it is the nail-surface that strikes the string, and the string then leaves the finger from the nail-surface—such strokes may indeed contribute (as Rockwell suggested) to the mensural character of the measure. In their distribution of 1 to 3 (occasionally 4) right-hand dots per 4/2 measure (for example), an element is introduced—in patterns that constantly change—which may contrast in rhythm with the rhythmic structure defined by the principal drum-beat.

In view of Rockwell's strong sense of personal indebtedness to Chen, it is striking that she remained uninfluenced by his published rhythmizations of the Dunhuang items in transcription. It is plain that she preferred the simpler approach to rhythm adopted by Hayashi. Possible reasons for this preference will be considered later.

The writing of the entire text of her transcription, translation, and annotations of Pelliot 3808 in hand-printed characters, together with the photocopying, annotation, and insertion of copies of each item of the manuscript into this text, suggest she foresaw a possible printing of the whole in facsimile.

In recommending publication of Item 3 alone of her surviving papers [Item 2 was a draft, superseded in her lifetime], it is felt that matters discussed in Item 1 are now out-of-date or have already been examined by Wells (1993), whereas in Item 3—thanks to her studies—the contents of Pelliot 3808 receive major clarification. Item 4 surveys particular features of Pelliot 3808; but these are illustrated at length, and more understandably and comprehensively, in the transcriptions and annotations of 3.

Her summary in 4 of structural features of the Court-entertainment, music-and-dance repertory of the Tang, to some extent (and understandably) lags behind information available in recent volumes of *Music from the Tang Court* (Picken et al., 1981–). On balance she was inclined to minimize the importance of features of the music in Pelliot 3808 which differ from those of music of the *Tōgaku* manuscript-tradition. Sadly, Rockwell herself had no opportunity to reflect in tranquillity on the music revealed by her transcriptions. For this reason it is felt she would not now wish all that was written in 4 to appear in print.

Only once, in preparing Item 3 for press, has a passage by her been deleted. This made reference to an erroneous suggestion (by another observer) regarding the derivation of the symbol that resembles an upper-case T (read *tei* in Sino-Japanese—see the discussion, above, of Hayashi 1955), meaning a stop or rest of some kind. Occasionally she seems to have been mistaken in her barring of certain items, and this will be discussed at a later stage, together with general matters regarding the nature and status of Pelliot 3808.

Her achievement and signal service to the study of early notated Chinese music is this careful transcription that reflects every feature of the manuscript, and enables any interested reader to grasp its musical characteristics. At the same time her transcription vividly presents the source itself, along with her working procedure, open to the thus informed scrutiny of any future investigator. Its publication marks a first occasion on which a complete manuscript of early Chinese music has been printed in facsimile along with its transcription into staff-notation and with the entire apparatus of transcription displayed. It hardly needs to be said that no comparable Western instrumental musical document of this date and sophis-

tication exists. The 'lute-tutor' that was the subject of Wolpert's study of 1977 is a tenth-century copy of a ninth-century original; but of its original text, on that occasion, only a few specimen-extracts could be printed by him in facsimile.

Contents

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Piece No. 1: Tuning Piece / Modal Prelude

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Piece No. 4: *You manquzi* ('Another Slow Piece')

Pieces Nos. 5 and 6: *You quzi* (Another Piece), *Jiquzi* (A Quick Piece)

Pieces Nos. 7 and 8: *Youquzi*, *You manquzi*

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Pieces Nos. 13 and 14: *You manquzi 'Xijiangyue'* ('Moon over the Western River'), *You manquzi*

Pieces Nos. 15 and 16: *Manquzi 'Xinzhizi'* ('Affairs of the Heart'), *Youmanquzi 'Yizhou'*

Pieces Nos. 17 and 18: *You jiquzi*, '*Shuiguzi*' ('Water Drum Melody')

Piece No. 19: *Ji 'Hu Xiangwen'* ('The Barbarian Asks')

Piece No. 20: '*Changshanu' yin* ('The Changsha Maiden')

Section III

Piece No. 21: No Title

Piece No. 22: '*Sajinsha*' ('Scatter the Golden Sand')

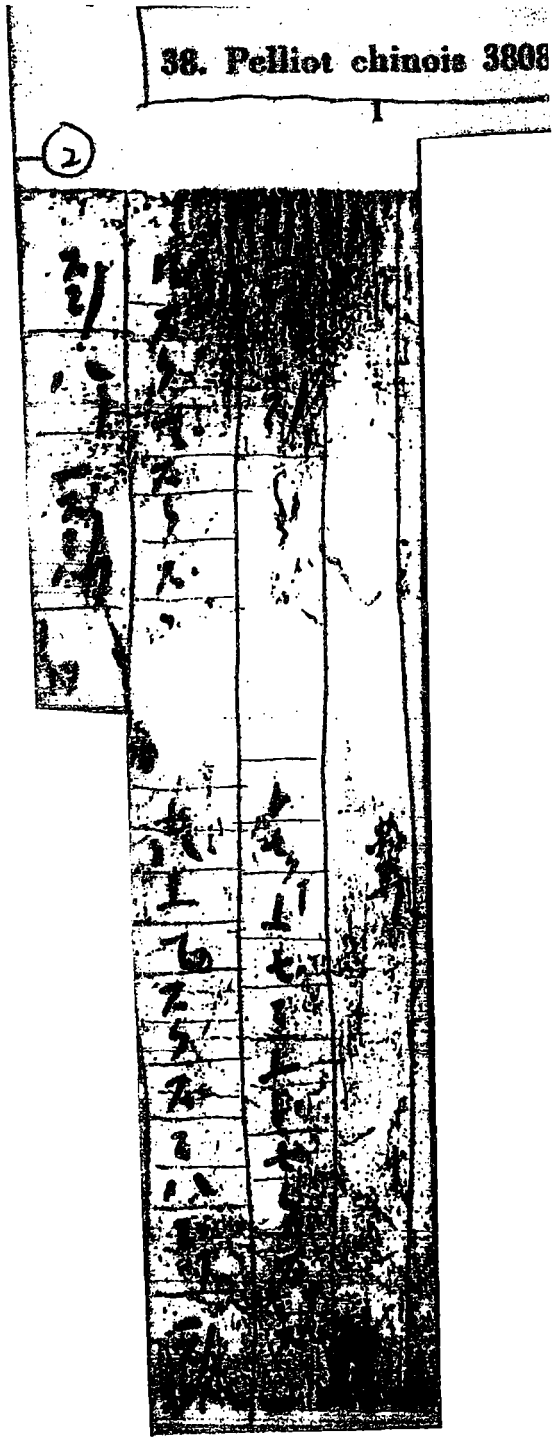
Piece No. 23: '*Yingfu*' ('Prosperous Army Camp')

Piece No. 24: '*Yizhou*' (An Islamic Place Name)

Piece No. 25: '*Shuiguzi*' ('Water Drum Melody')

敦煌樂譜

品弄



敦煌乐谱译谱

DUNHUANG MANUSCRIPT TRANSCRIPTION P. 3808

C. ROCKWELL (1990)

TUNING : PIECES 1 – 10 [AFTER HAYASHI (1957); CHEN YINGSHI (1983) (1988)]

1 2 3 4 (STRING)

FRETS

PITCHES FOR TRANSCRIPTION

STRING, FRET

PIECE NO. 1 品弄 PINNONG : TUNING PIECE*

section damaged

section damaged

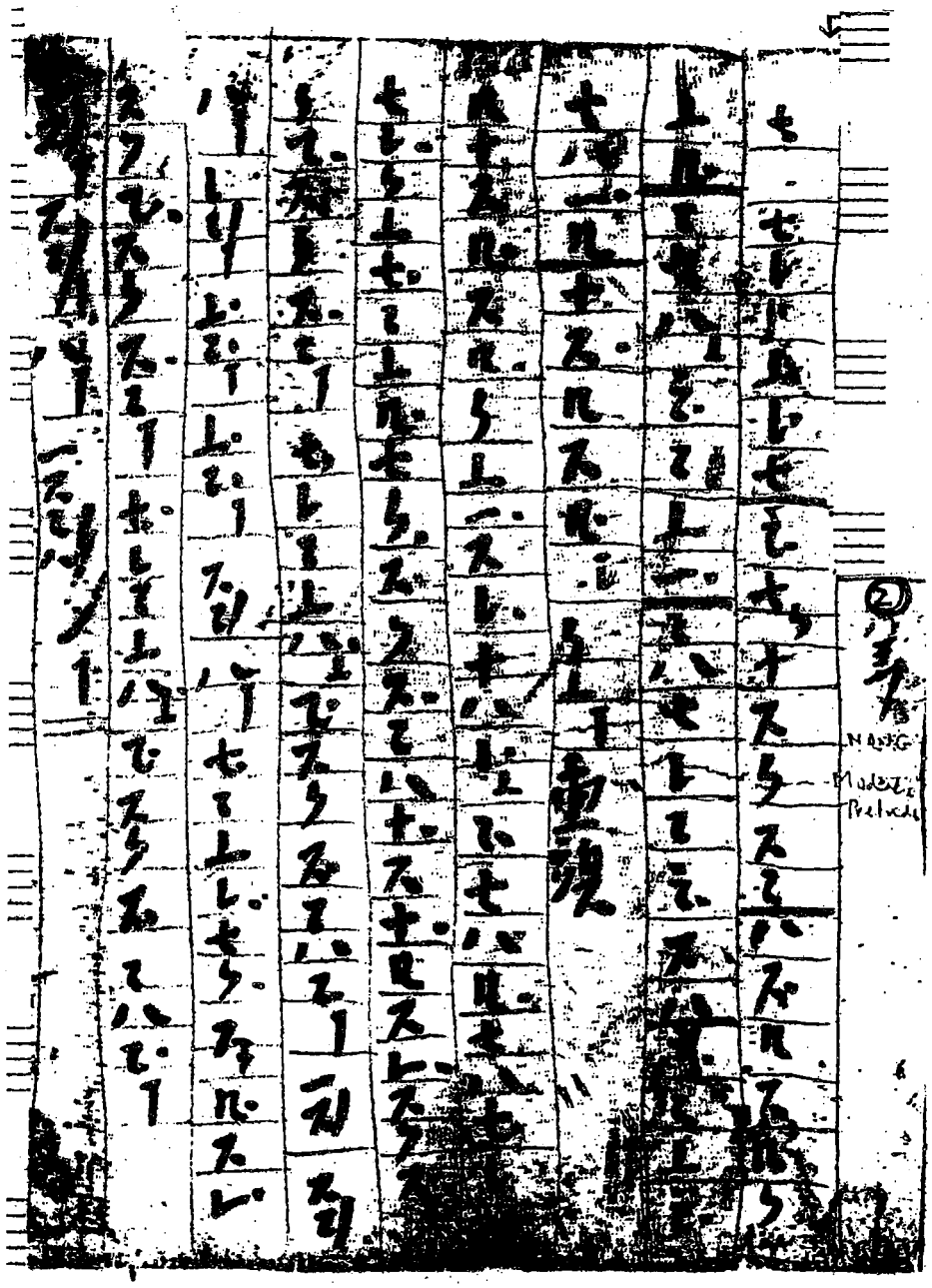
* Translated, literally, "a taste of plucking."

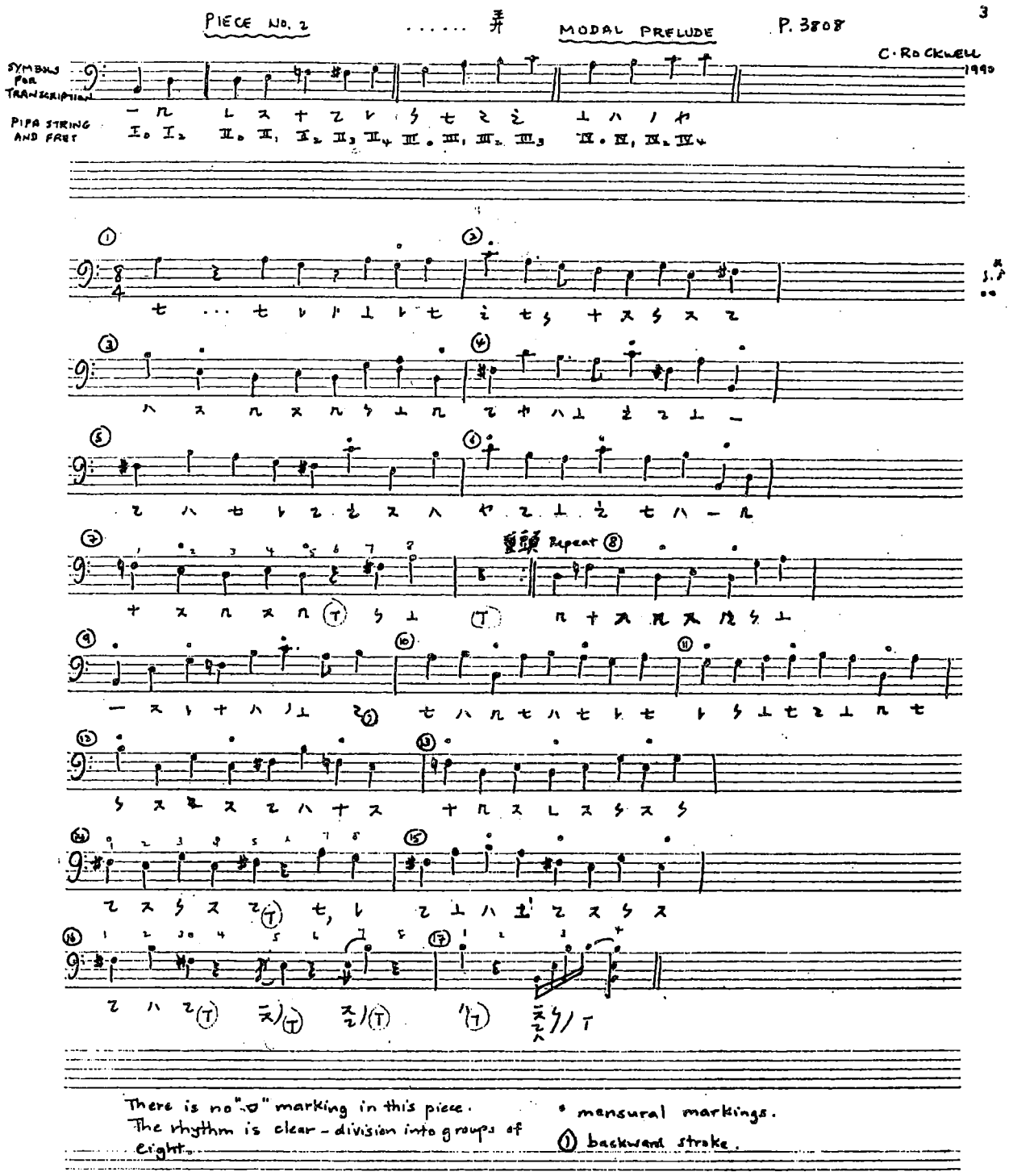
• The red dits above the transcription indicate mensural rhythmic structure. They are intracolumnary dots to the right of the tablature symbols.

(1) Indicates a playing technique – backward stroke (⊓)

The brush writing of pieces 1 – 10 appears to be by the same person. It changes again for pieces 11 – 20 and again for pieces 21 – 35.

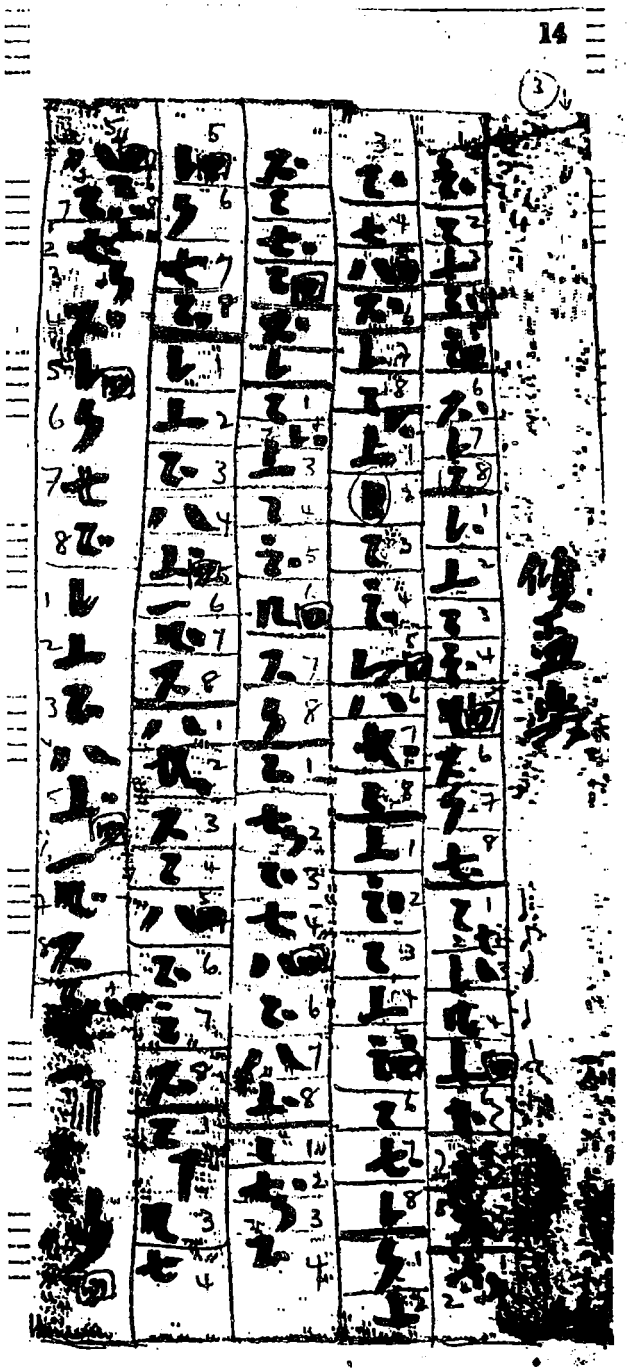
[品] 弄




PIECE NO. 2
MODAL PRELUDE
P. 3808
C·ROCKWELL
1990
SYMBOLS FOR TRANSCRIPTION
PIPA STRING AND FRET
Repeat ⑧
There is no "□" marking in this piece.
The rhythm is clear - division into groups of eight.
* mensural markings.
① backward stroke.

傾盃樂

Piece No.3. Qingbeiyue.



PIECE NO. 3. 倾盂乐 QINGBEIYUE "OVERTURNING THE CUP" / "EMPTYING, DRAINING" THE CUP } MUSIC.

C. ROCKWELL 1990

After Hayashi (1957); Chen (1925, 87)

SYMBOLS FOR TRANSCRIPTION

PIPA STRING AND FRET

First piece with the "▽" symbol
Each measure has one "▽"

PIPA TUNING

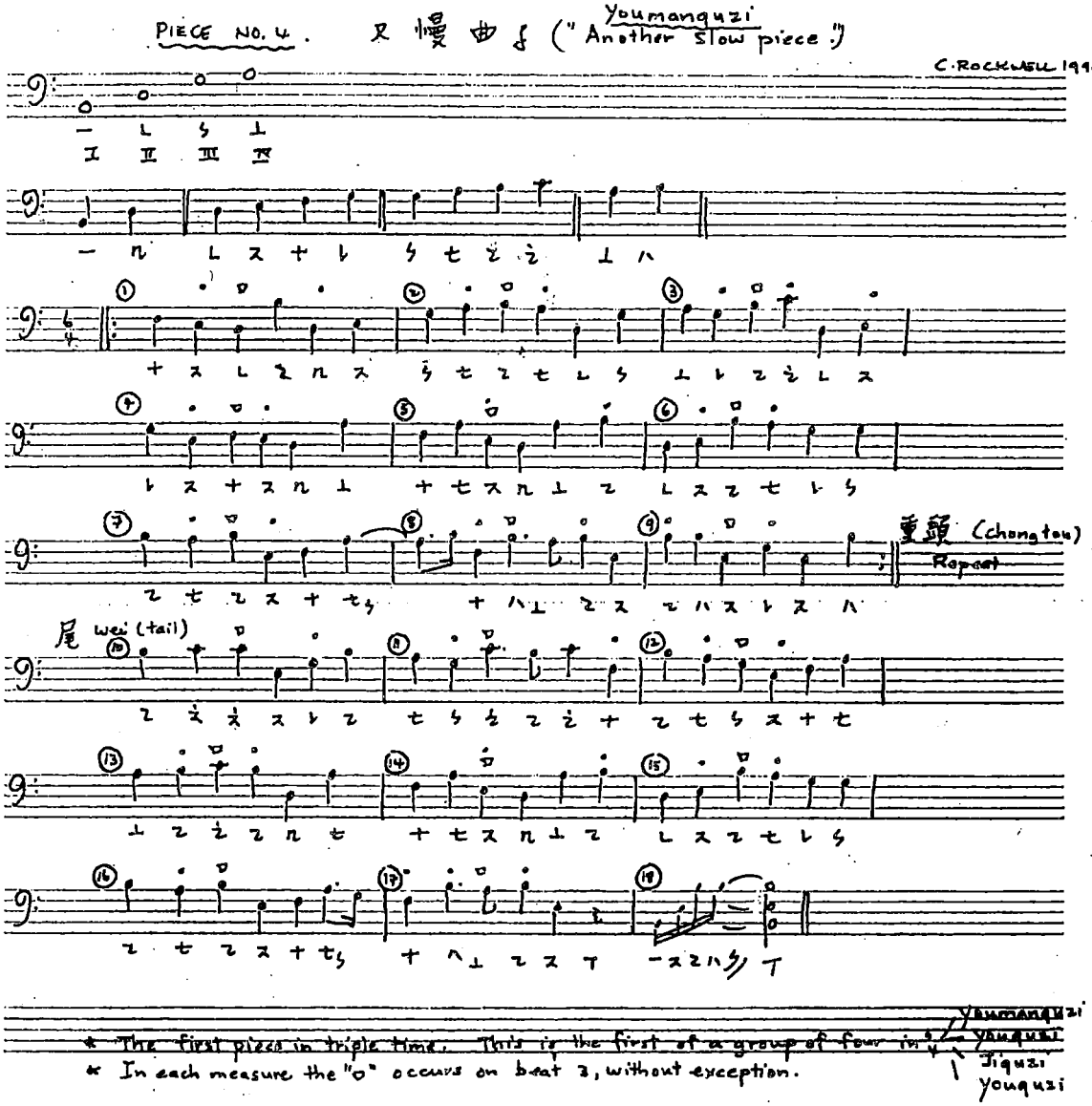
MODE ? Phrygian on B

The "▽" occurs on beat 5 in all measures, except for measures 7 and 8 where the "▽" occurs on beat 6.

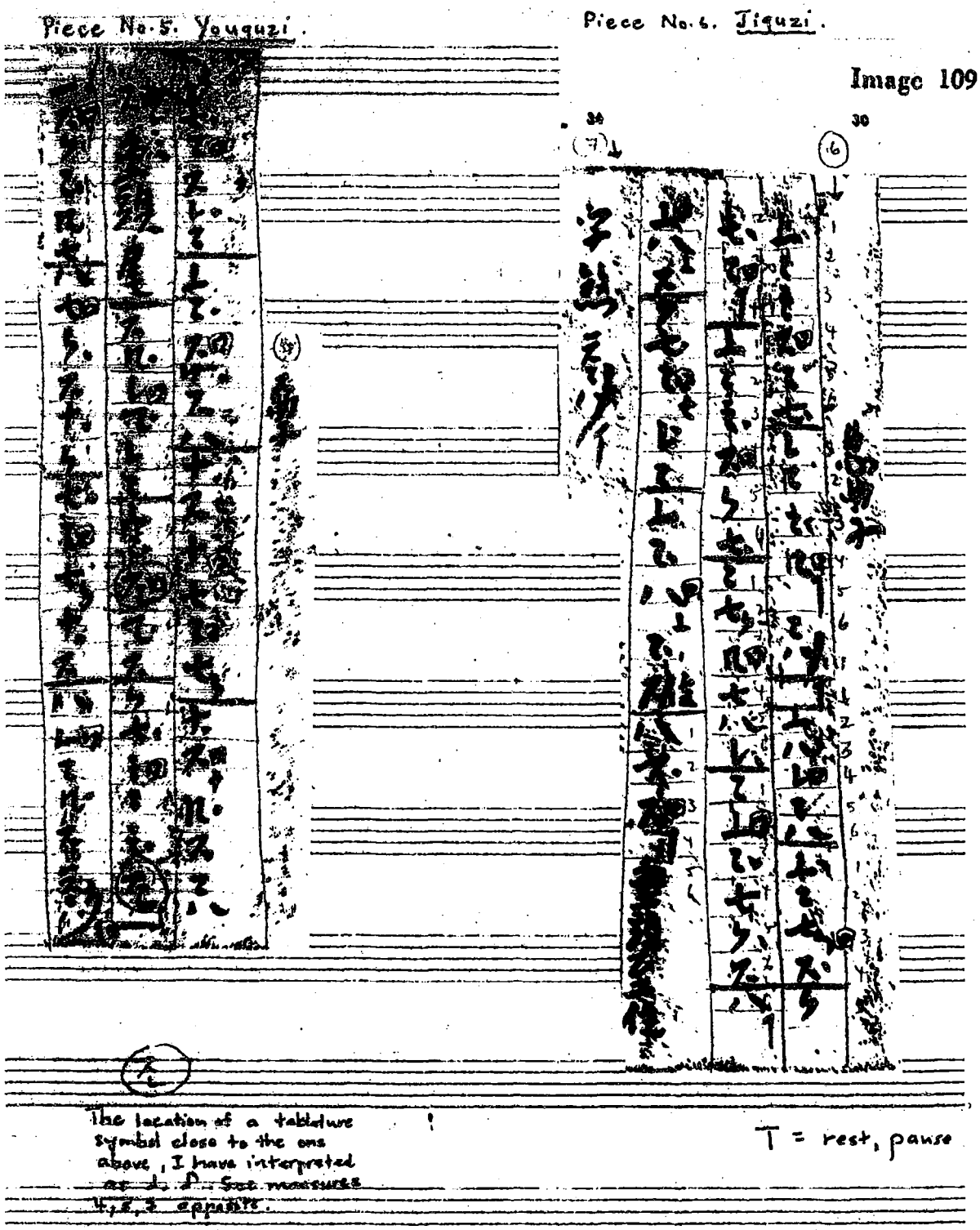
The last measure shows "▽" at the final arpeggio.

又慢曲子

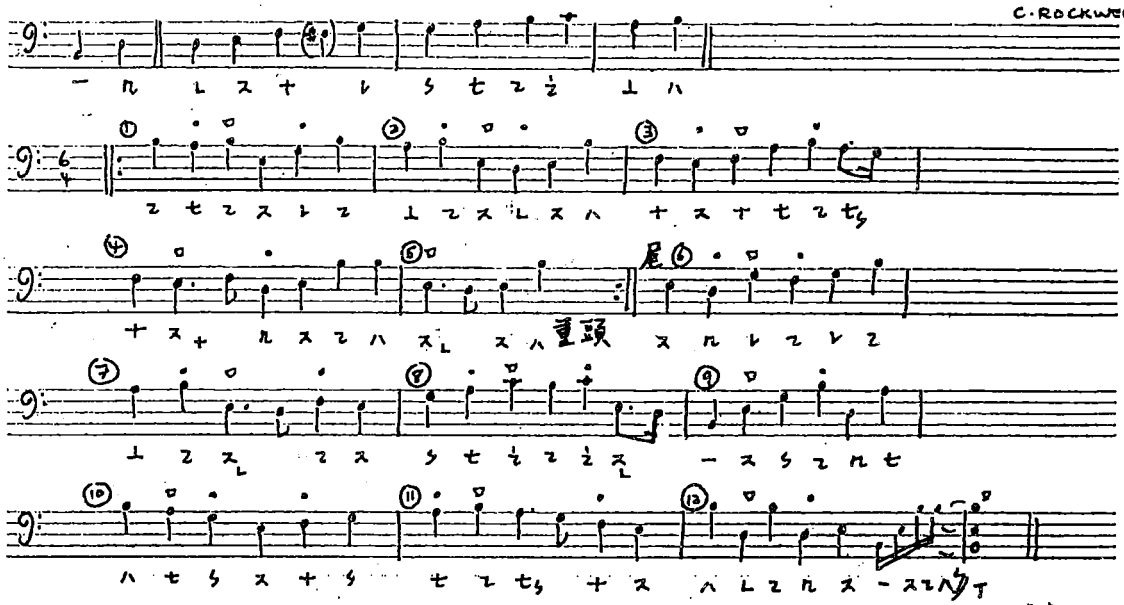
Piece No.4. Youmanquzi.

38. Pelliot chinois 3808 v°

PIECE NO. 4. 又慢曲 (Youmanquzi) ("Another slow piece")
C. ROCKLASL 1990
重頭 (Chongtou)
Repeat
尾 wei (tail)
* The first piece in triple time. This is the first of a group of four in
* In each measure the "o" occurs on beat 3, without exception.
Youmanquzi
Youquzi
Jiquzi
Youquzi

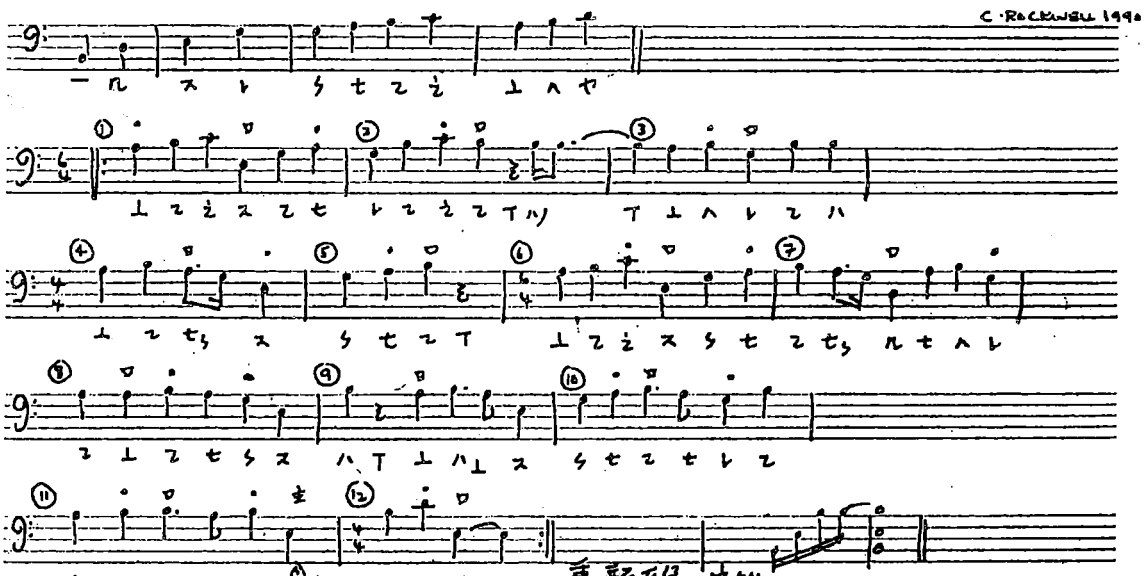
又曲子　　急曲子


Piece No.5. Youquzi.
Piece No.6. Jiquzi.
Image 109
The location of a tablature symbol close to the one above, I have interpreted as ♭. ♮. See measures 4, 5, 2 appears.
T = rest, pause

PIECE NO. 5 又曲子 Youquzi. Another Piece.

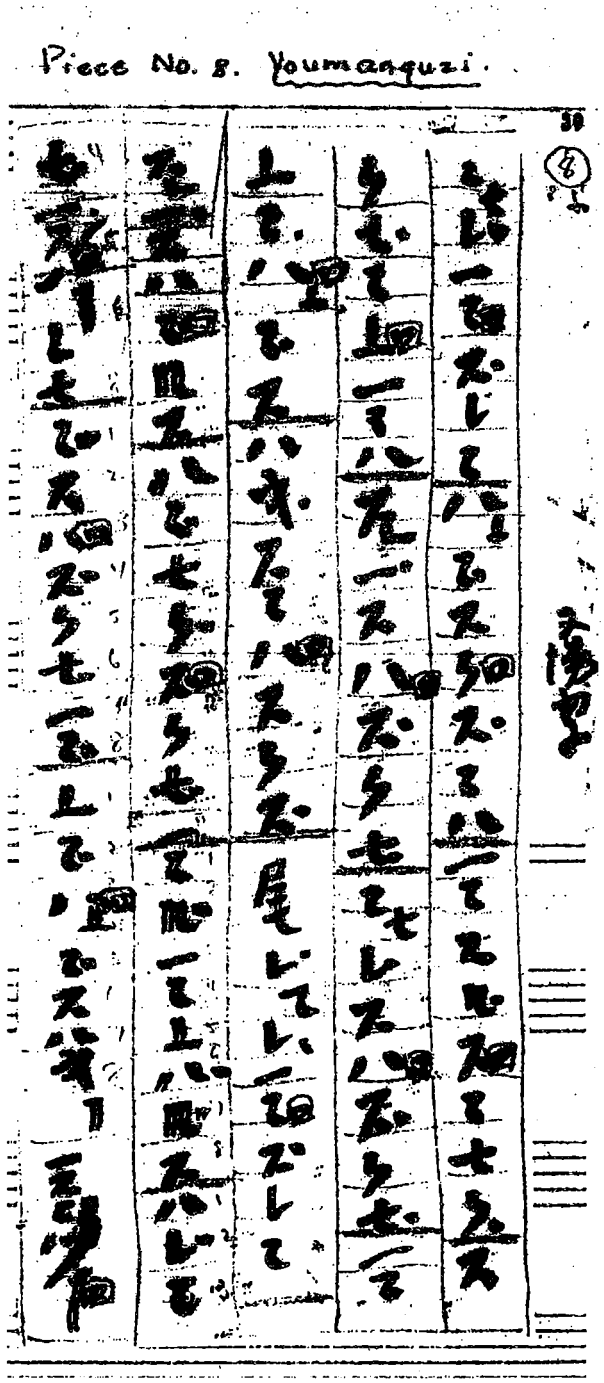
C·ROCKWELL 1990

The "▽" position varies : in six measures on beat 3. : measure 5 — on beat one.
: in measures 4, 9, 10, 11, 12 on beat 2.

PIECE NO. 6. 急曲子 Jiquzi. A quick Piece.

C·ROCKWELL 1990

* The "▽" position varies: measures 1, 2, 3, 6 — on beat 4
* measures 4 and 5 the time signature changes to 4.
* measures 9, 10, 11, 12 — on beat 3
* measure [redacted] — on beat 2.

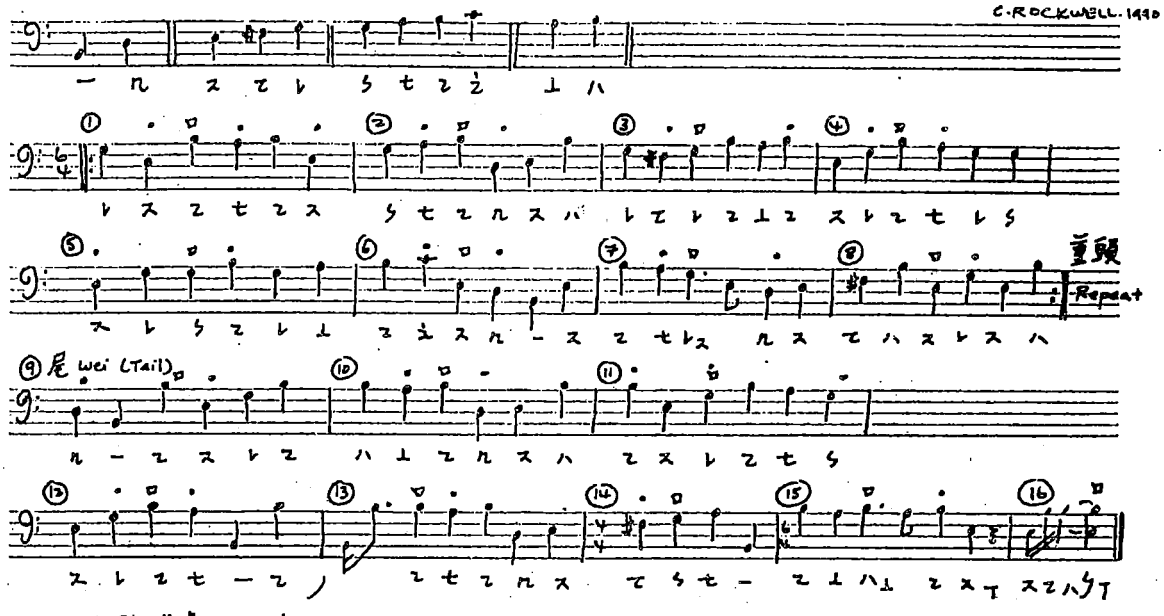
又曲子

又慢曲子



PIECE NO. 7. 又曲 Youquzi. Another Piece.

C. ROCKWELL. 1990

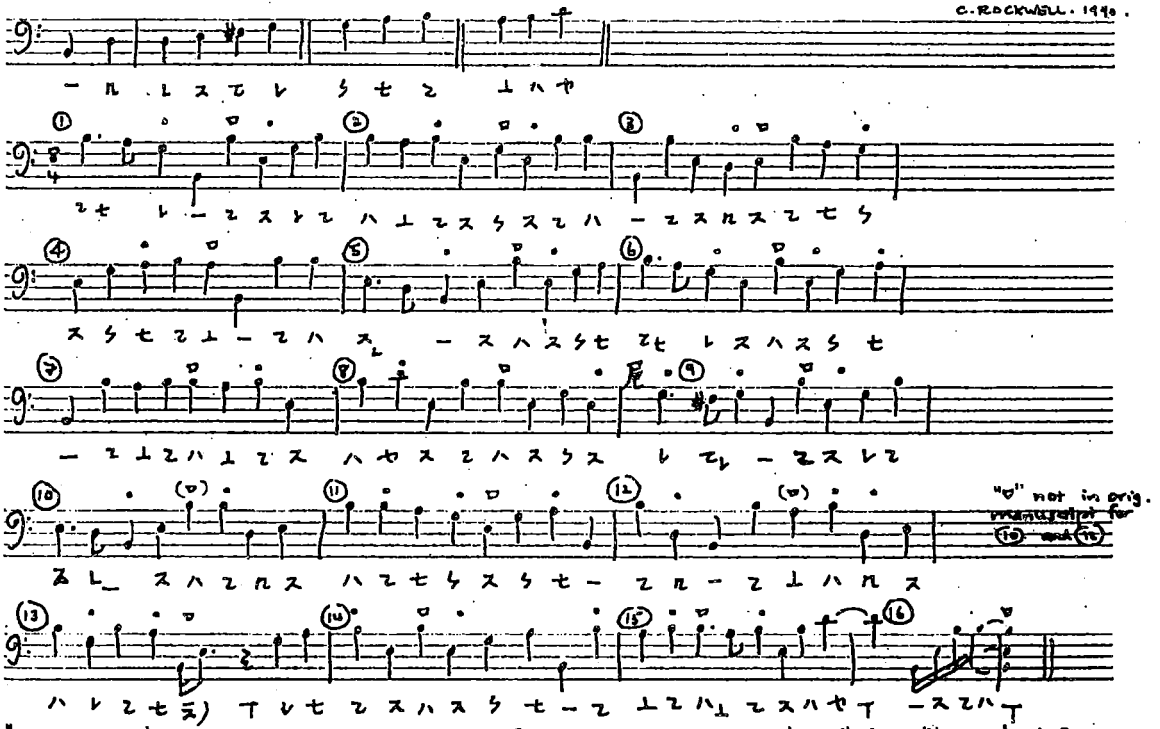


The "▽" is on beat 3 in every measure, without exception.

Measure (14) is in 4/4

PIECE NO. 8 又慢曲. Another Slow Piece.

C. ROCKWELL. 1990.



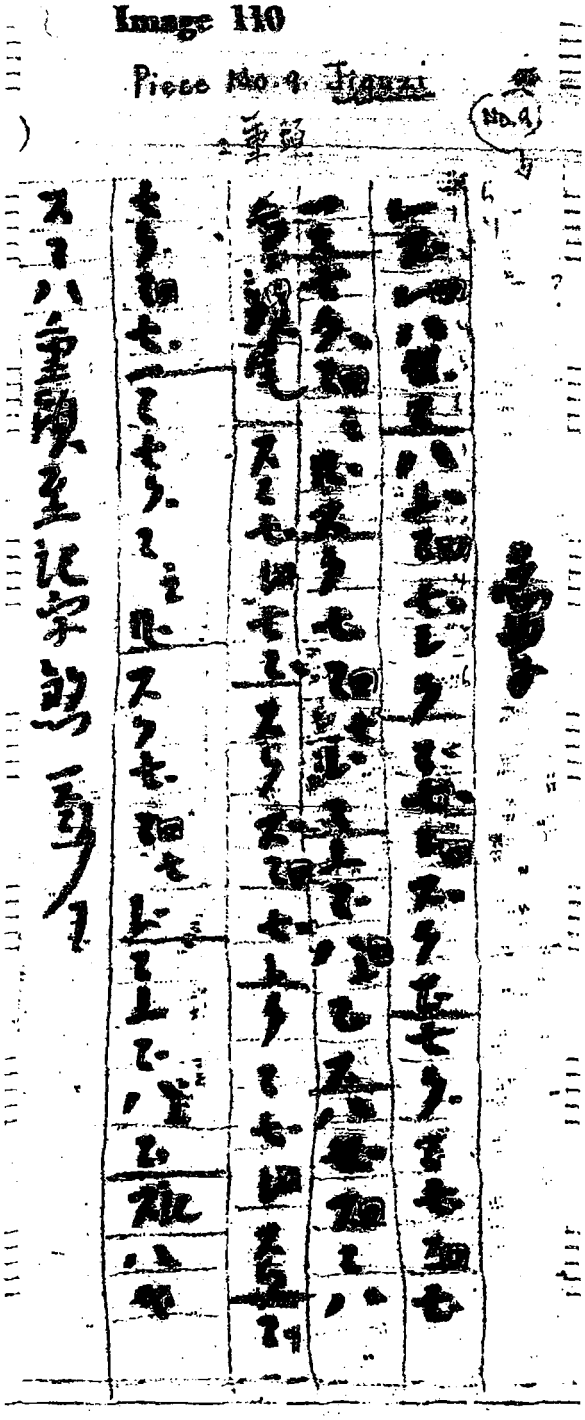
The "▽" occurs on beat 5 in all measures, except for the last two: 14 & 15, where it is written on beat 3

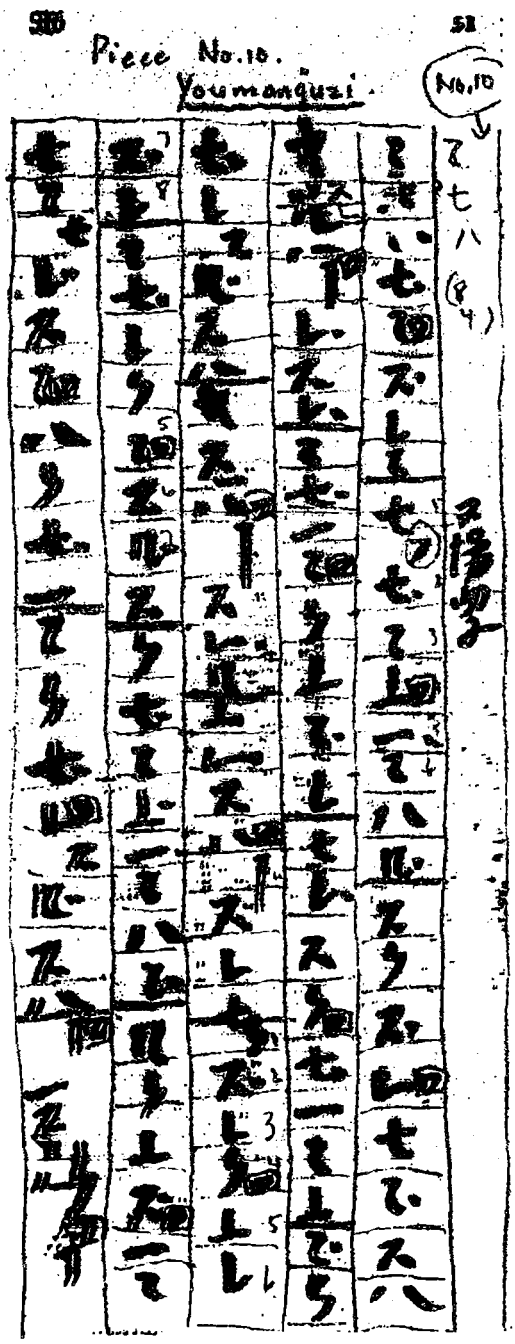
急曲子

又慢曲子

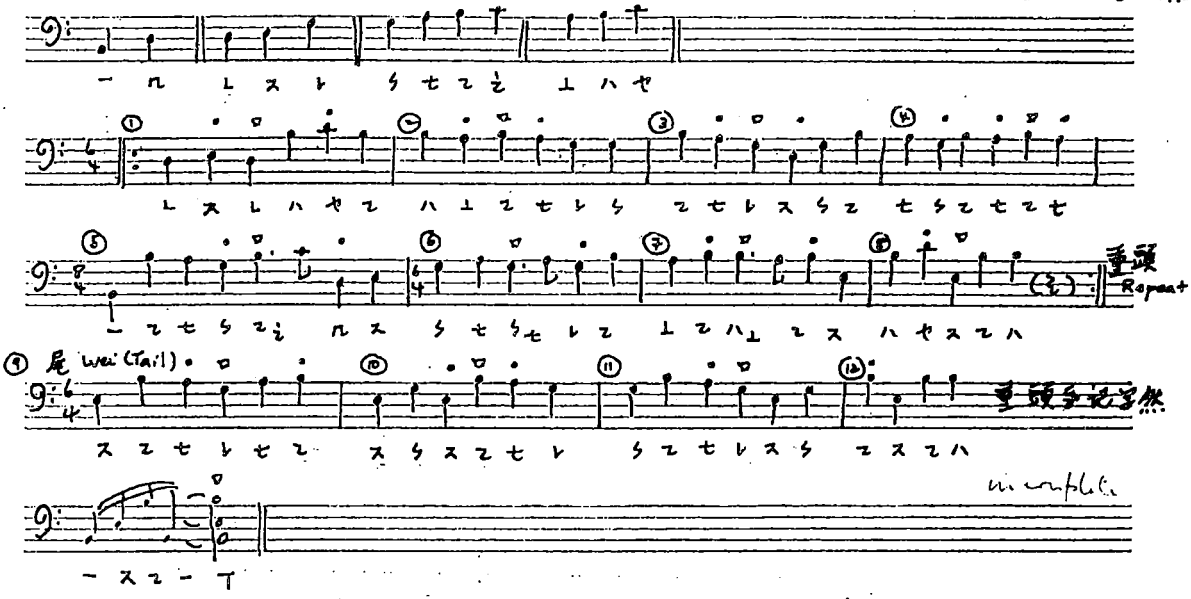
PLANCHE LV

Image 110



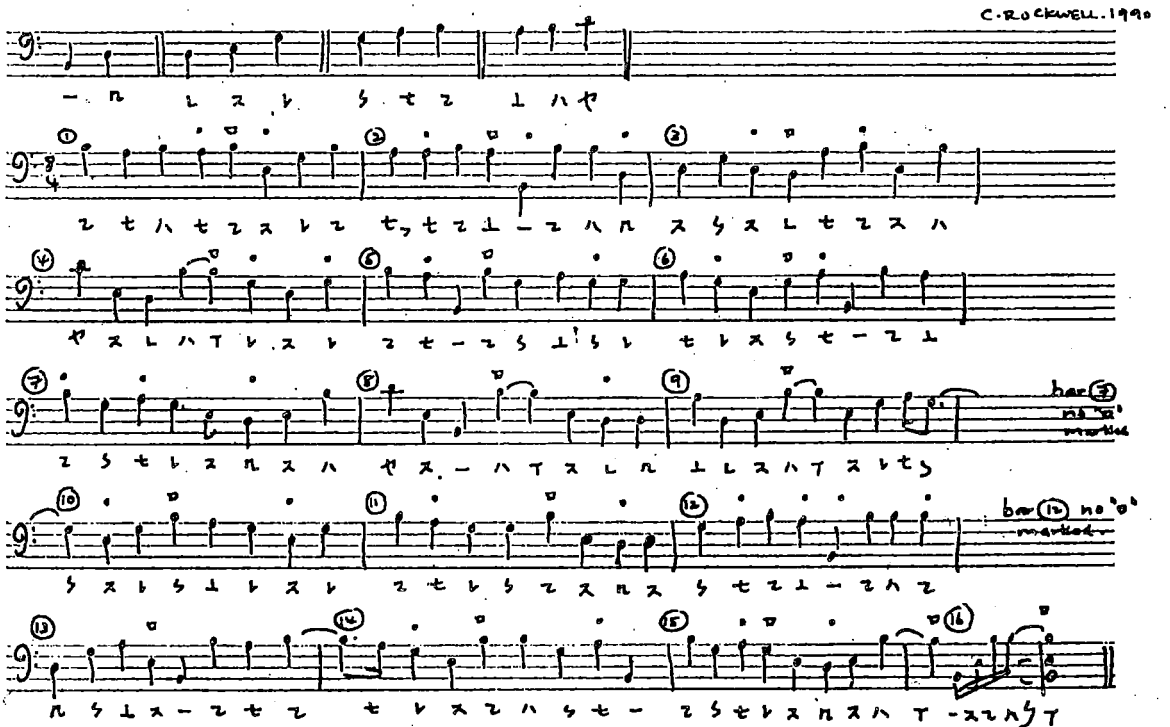


PIECE NO. 9 急曲子 Jiquzi. A quick Piece.

C. ROCKWELL. 1990

The "▽" position is predominantly on beat 3 in the 6/4 measures; in measure ④ the "▽" is on beat 5, and on beat 5 in measure ⑧, which is in 9/4. In the tail section, the "▽" appears on beat 4 (measures 9, 10, 11)

PIECE NO. 10 又慢曲子. Youmanquzi. Another Slow Piece.

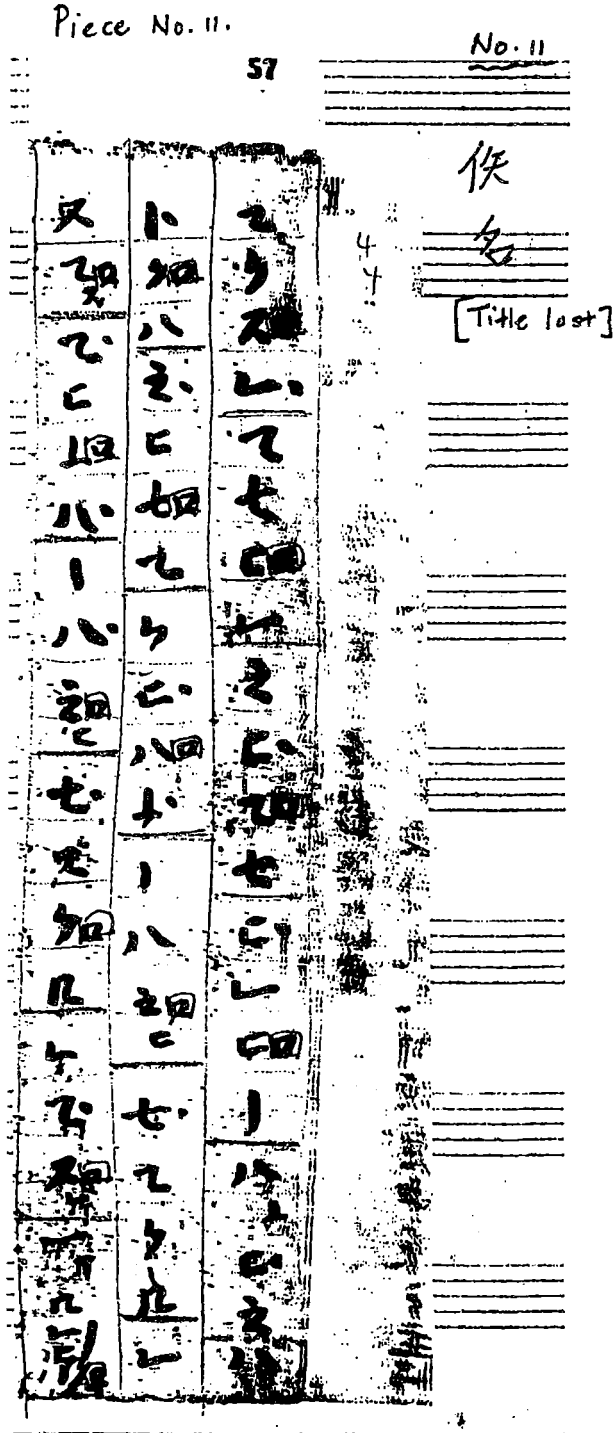
C. ROCKWELL. 1990

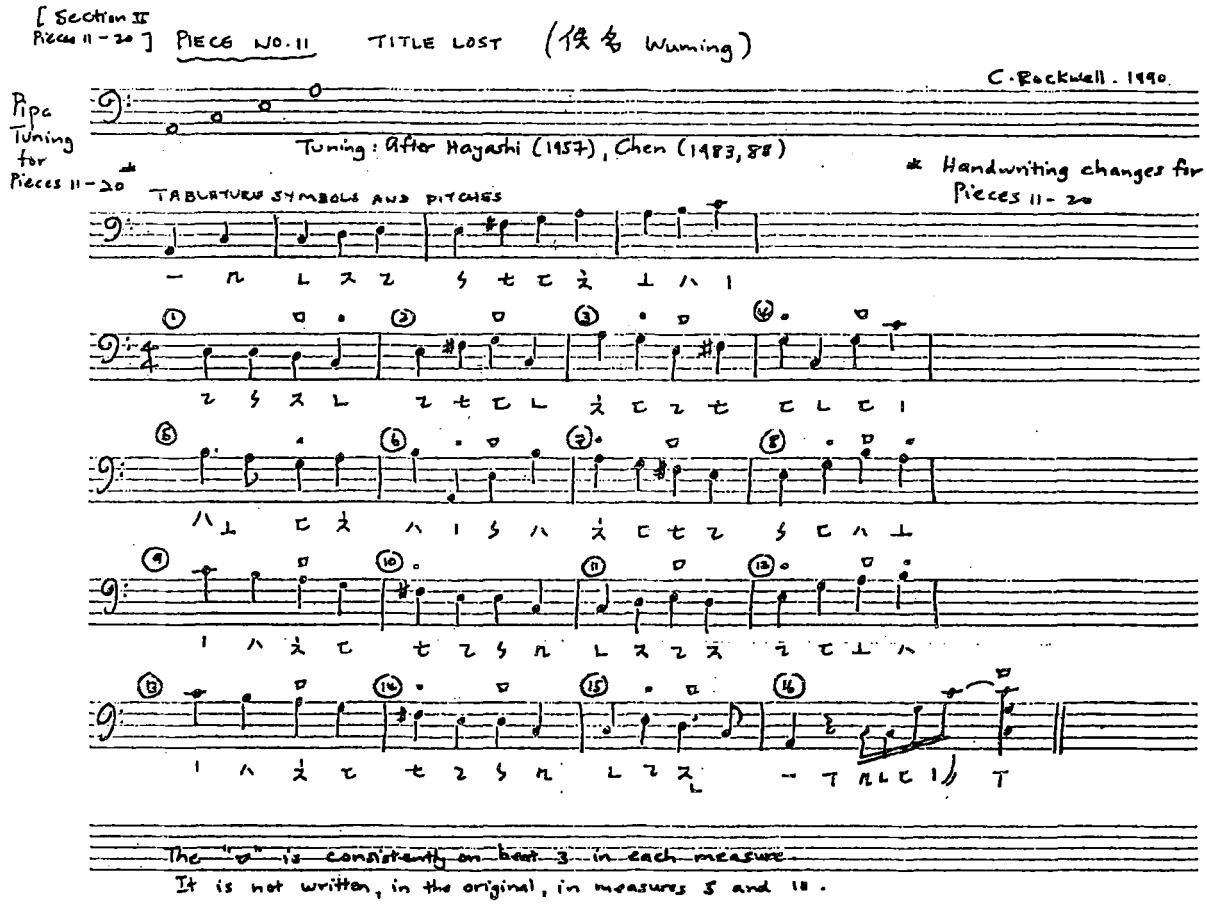


The "▽" occurs mainly on beat 4, but there are some variations: beat 5 in measures 4 and 11.

[End of Section I. Pieces 1–10]

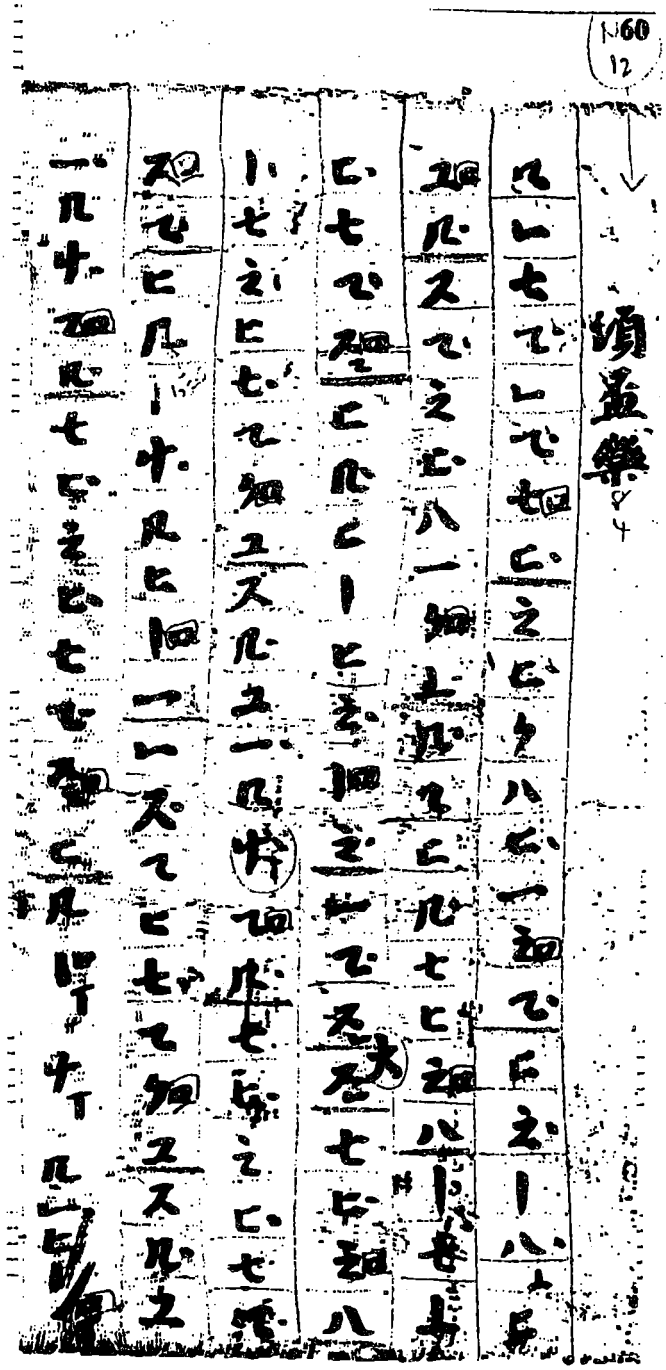
No Title

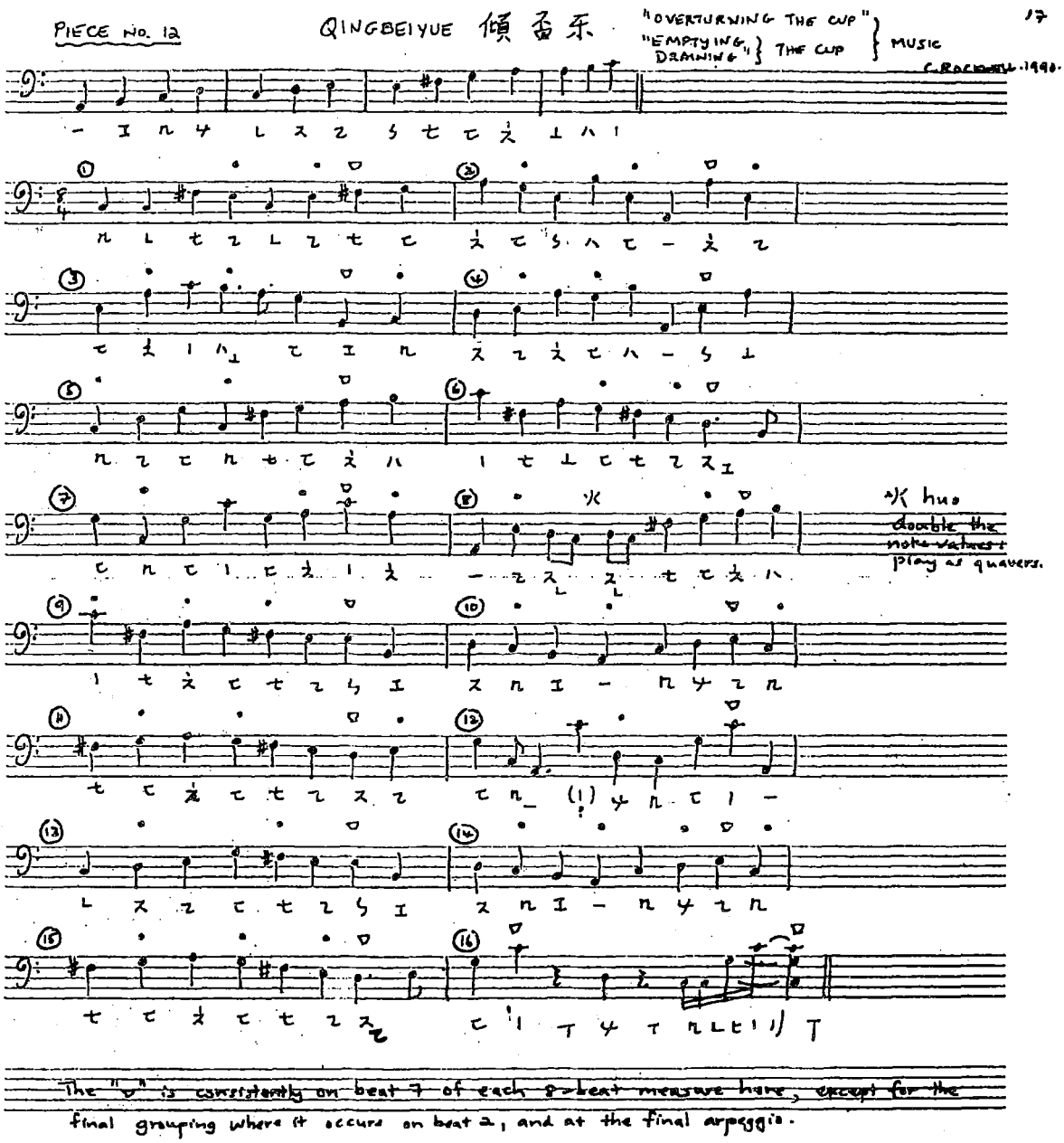


This section of the manuscript appears to have been pasted too closely, and the title of the piece was covered over.

[Section II
Pieces 11 - 20]
PIECE NO. 11
TITLE LOST
(佚名 Wuming)
C. Rockwell . 1990.
Pipa Tuning for Pieces 11 - 20
Tuning: After Hayashi (1957), Chen (1983, 88)
* Handwriting changes for Pieces 11 - 20
TABLATURE SYMBOLS AND PITCHES
The "▽" is consistently on beat 3 in each measure.
It is not written, in the original, in measures 5 and 12.

傾盃樂

Piece No.12. Qingbeiyue.

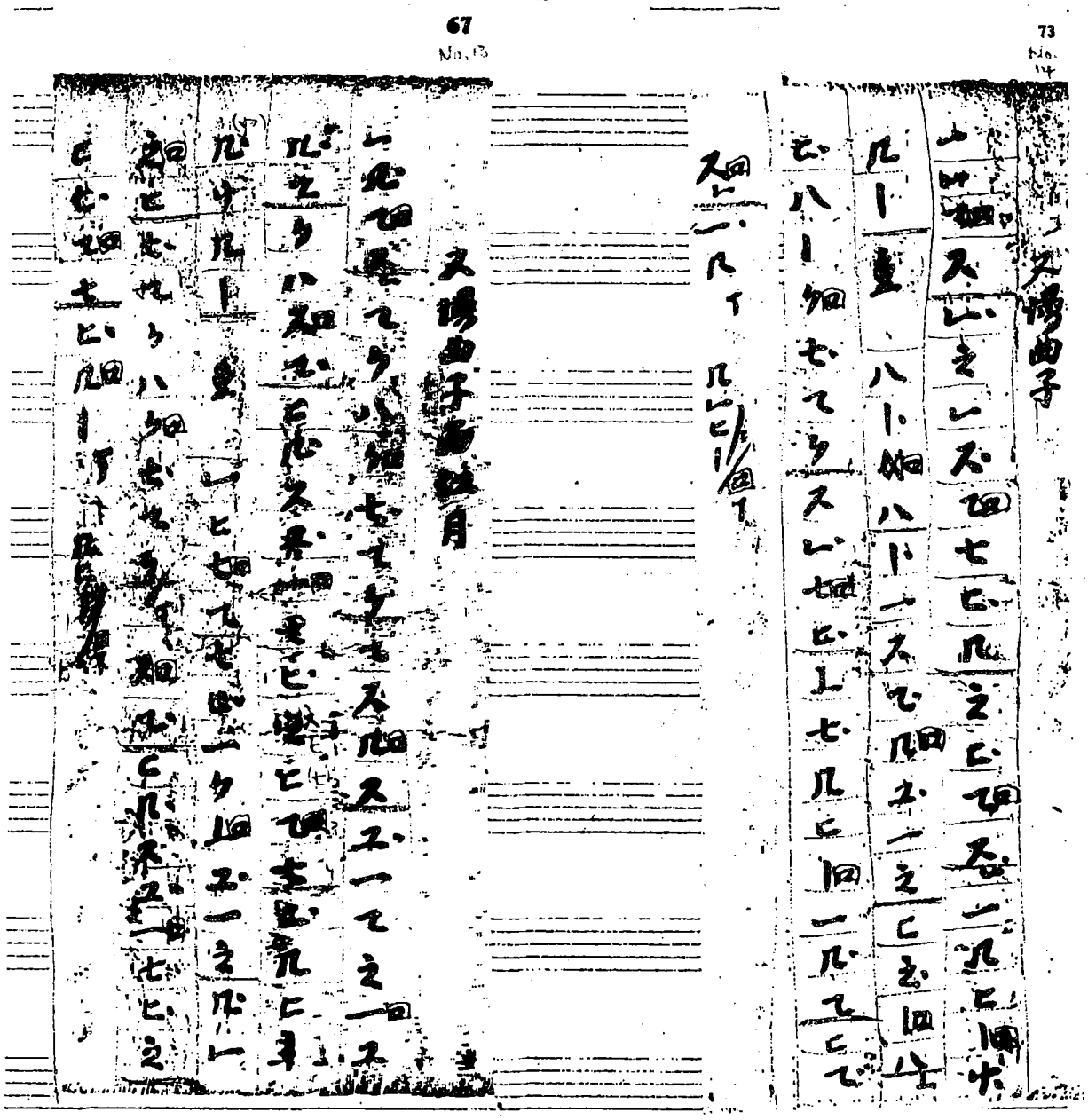



PIECE No. 12
QINGBEIYUE 傾盃乐
"OVERTURNING THE CUP"
"EMPTYING / DRAINING" THE CUP
MUSIC
C. RACHMAN 1998.
17
huo
double the note-values: play as quavers.
The "▽" is consistently on beat 1 of each 2-beat measure here, except for the final grouping where it occurs on beat 2, and at the final arpeggio.

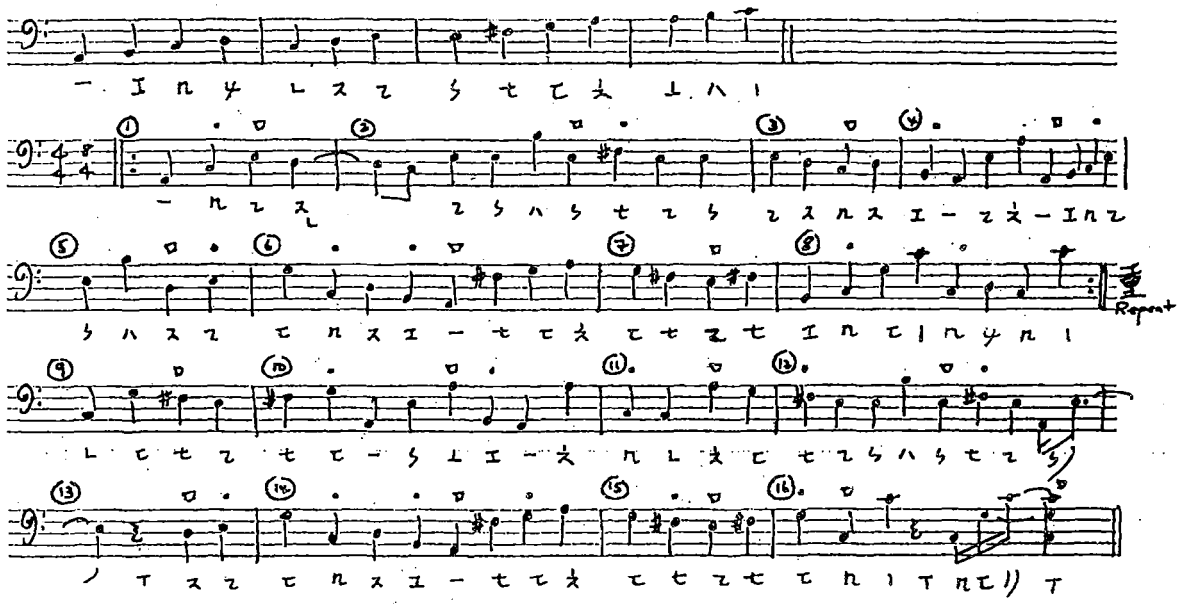
又慢曲子西江月　　又慢曲子

Piece No.13. Youmanquzi Xijiangyue.　　Piece No.14. Youmanquzi.

Image 111　　38. Pelliot chinois 3808 v°

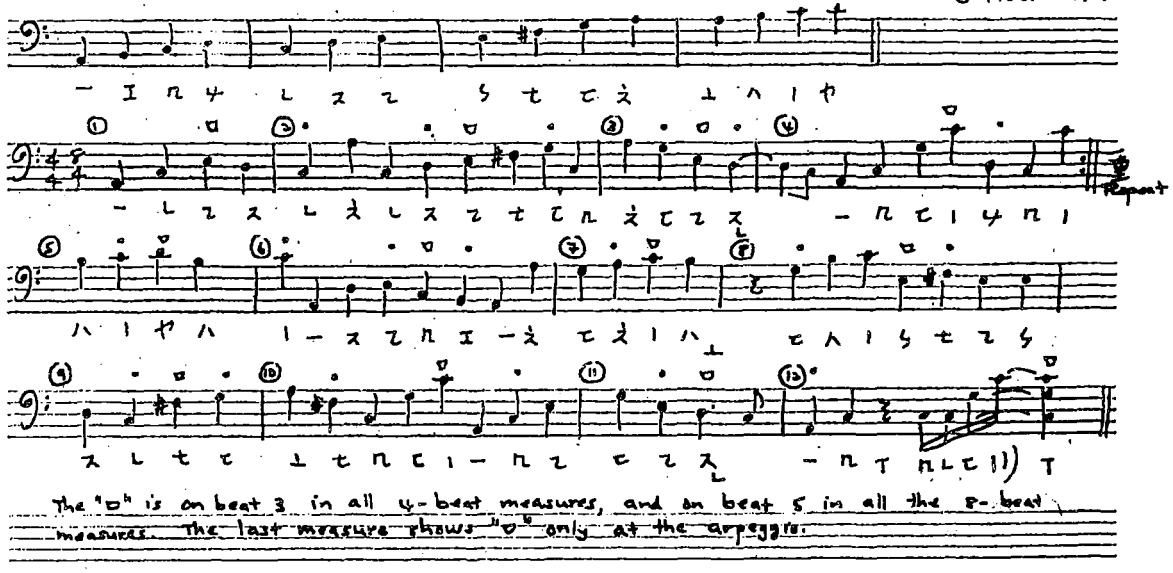


Piece No. 13 Youmanquzi Xijiangyue. 又慢曲子西江月 "Another Slow Piece Moon over the Weston River." C. Rockwell 1990.



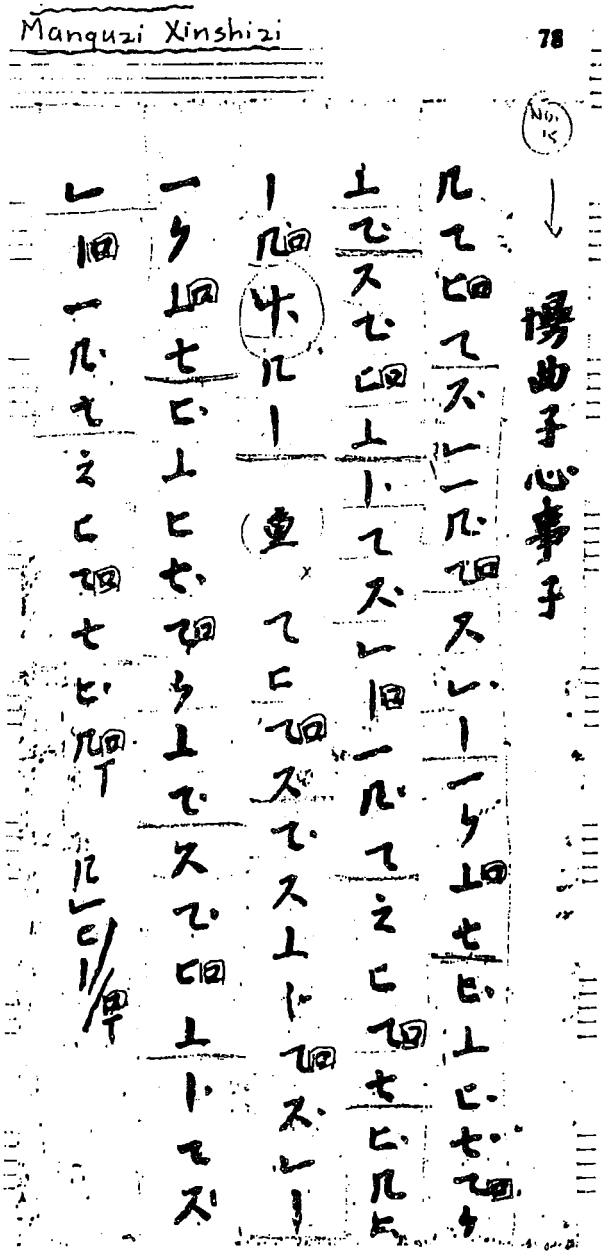
The "□" is consistently on beat 3 in all the 4-beat measures, and on beat 5 of the 8-beat measures. The exception is the final measure where it is written on beat 2 and at the final arpeggio.

Piece No. 14 Youmanquzi. 又慢曲子 "Another Slow Piece." C. Rockwell. 1990

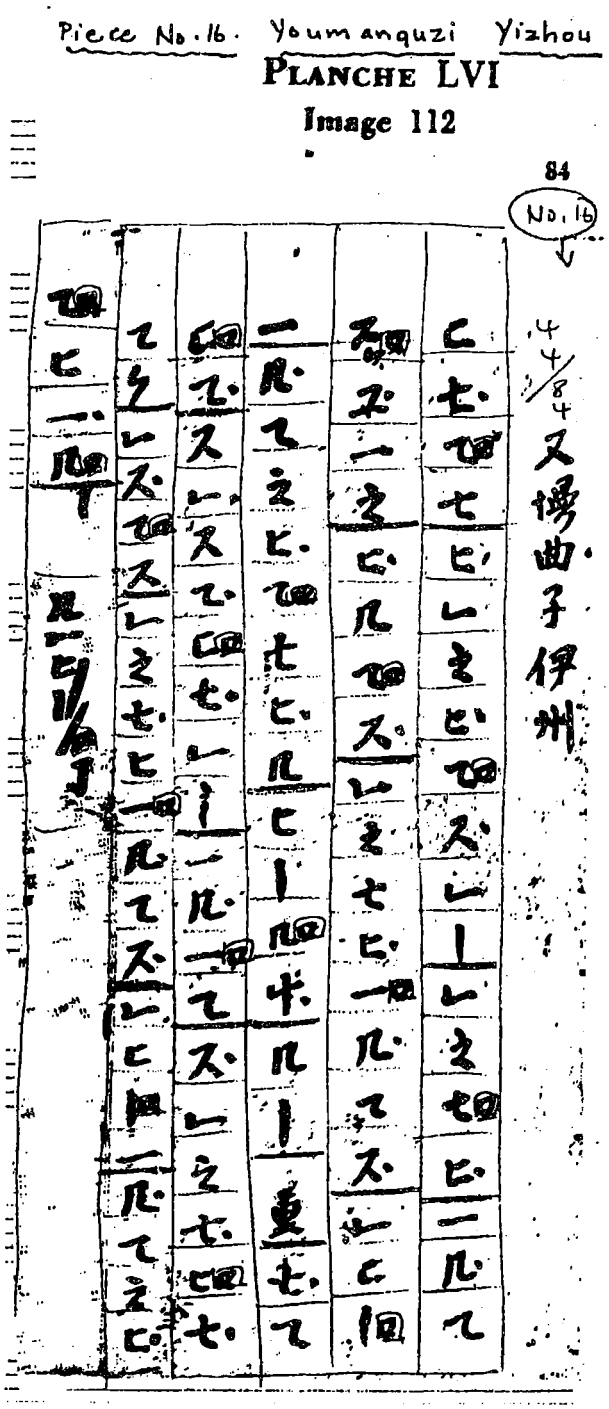


The "□" is on beat 3 in all 4-beat measures, and on beat 5 in all the 8-beat measures. The last measure shows "□" only at the arpeggio.

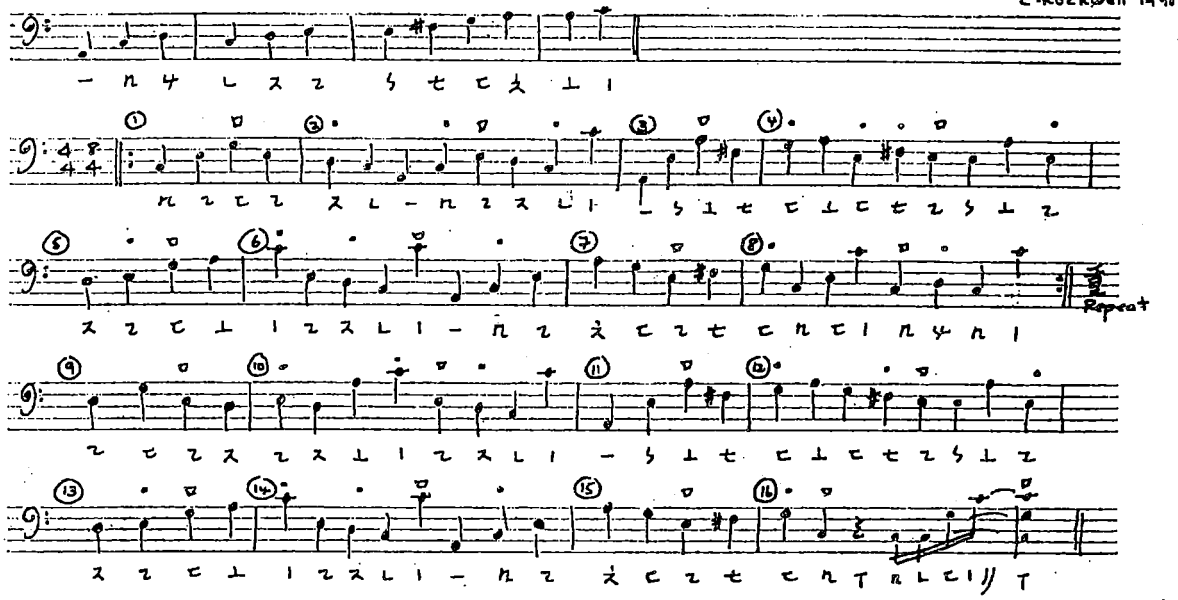
慢曲子心事子



又慢曲子伊州

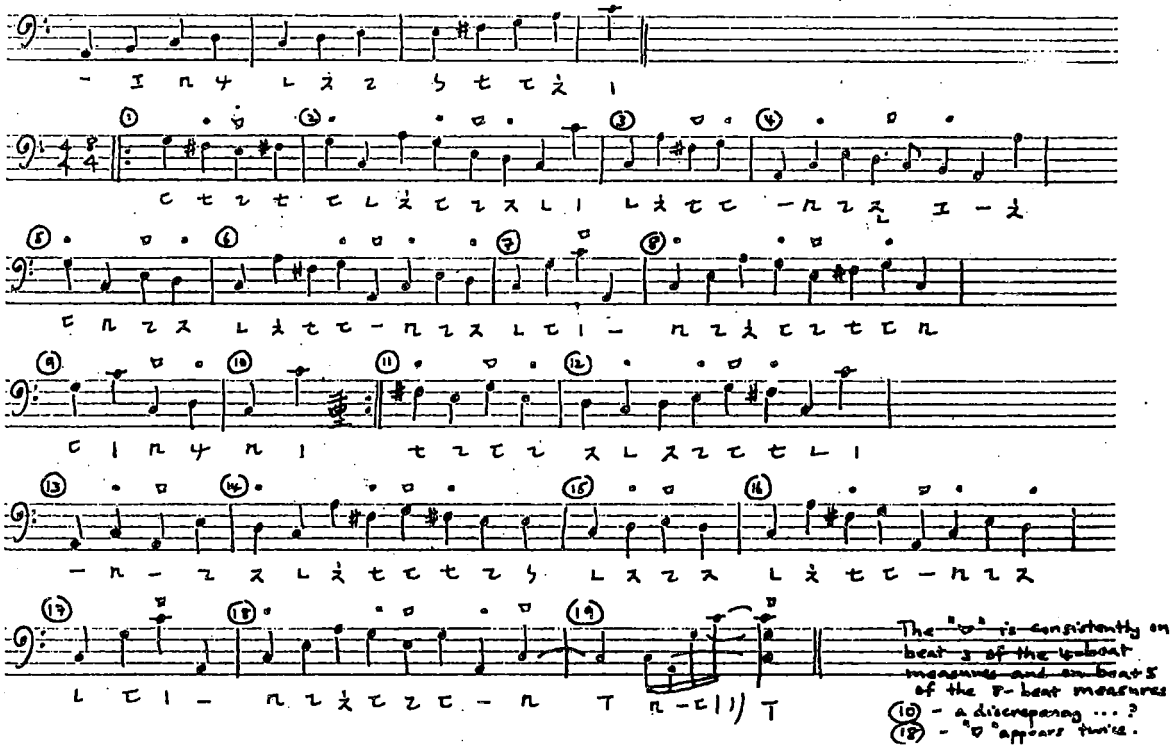


PIECE NO. 15. 慢曲子心事子. Manquzi Xinshizi. "Slow Piece. Affairs of the Heart."
C. Rockwell 1990



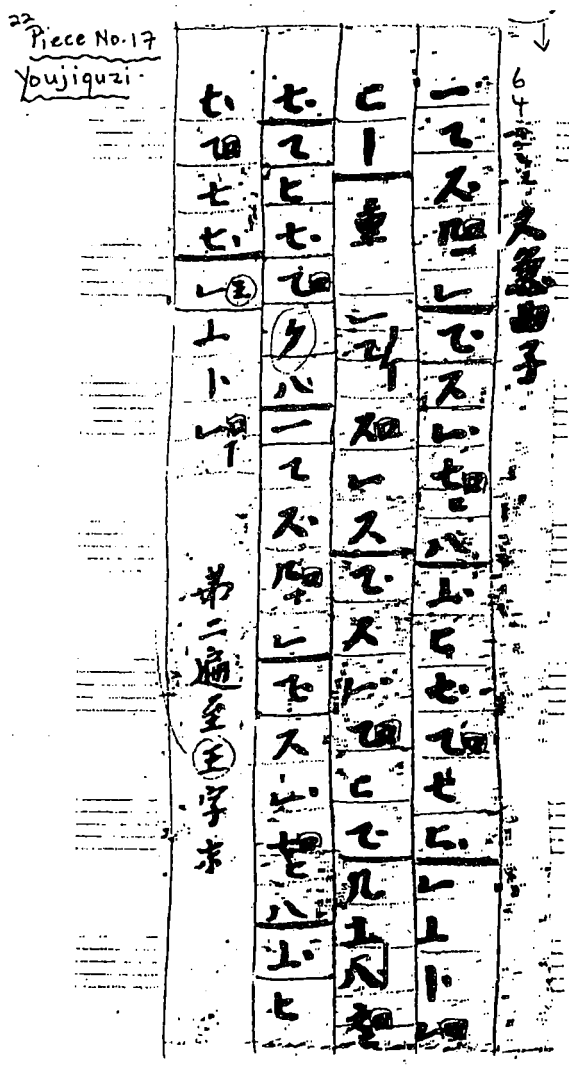
The "▽" is consistently on beat 3 of the 4-beat measures, and on beat 5 of the 8-beat measures. In the final measure it occurs on 2 and at the arpeggio's.

PIECE NO. 16 又慢曲子伊州. Youmanquzi. Yizhou. "Another Slow Piece. Yizhou"
C. Rockwell 1990

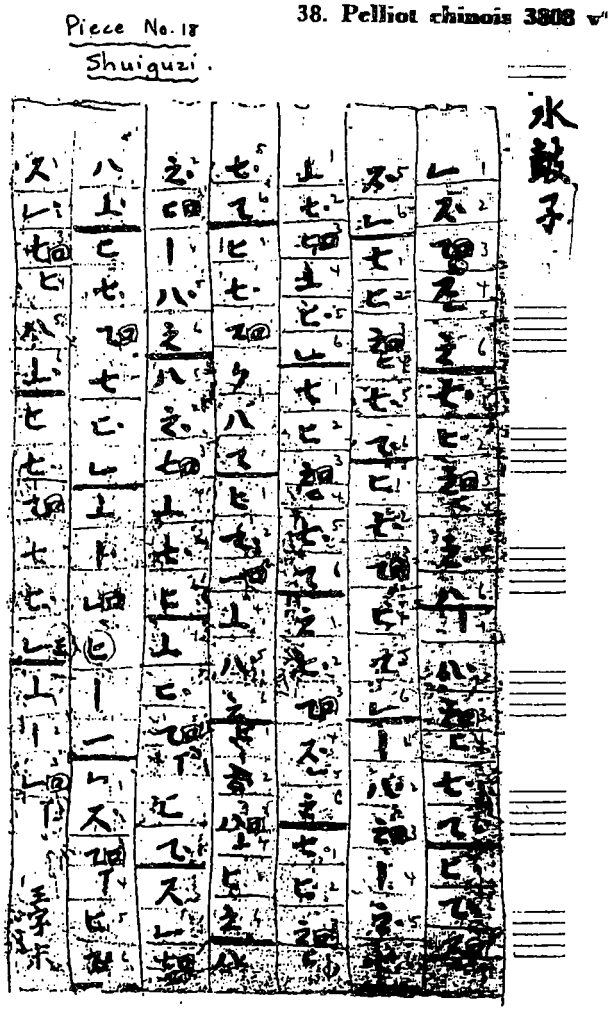


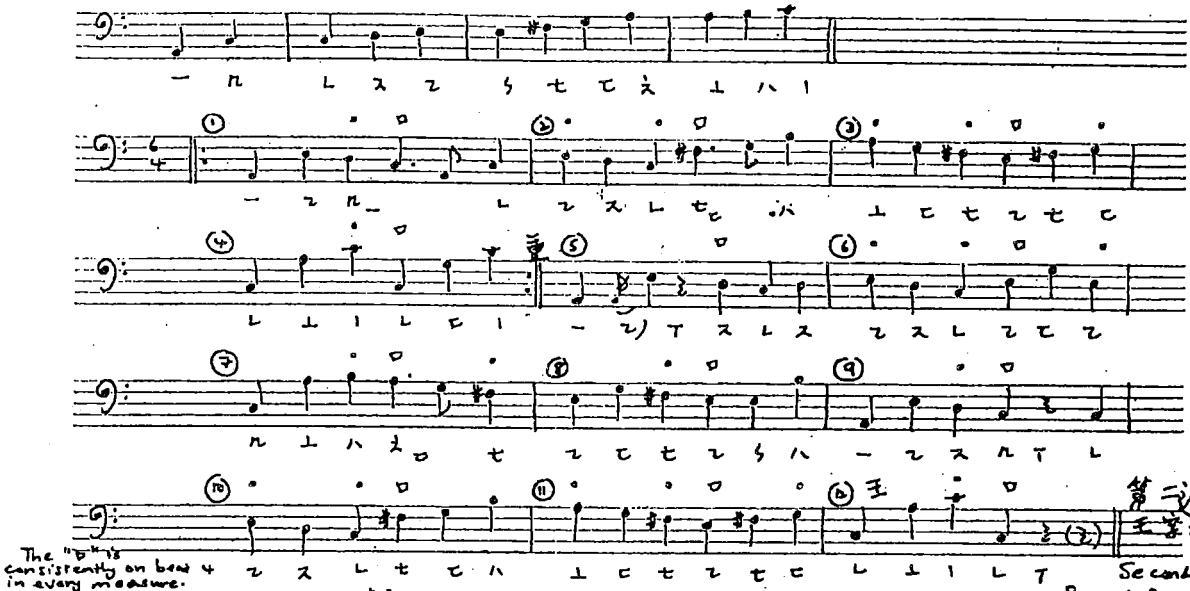
The "▽" is consistently on beat 3 of the 4-beat measures and on beat 5 of the 8-beat measures
(10) - a discrepancy ... ?
(18) - "▽" appears twice.

又急曲子


22
Piece No. 17
Youjiquzi
又急曲子
第二遍至(王)字求

水鼓子


38. Pelliot chinois 3808 v°
Piece No. 18
Shuiquzi
水鼓子

PIECE NO. 17　又急曲 Youjiquzi. Another Quick Piece.　C. Rockwell. 1990

The "□" is consistently on beat 4 in every measure.

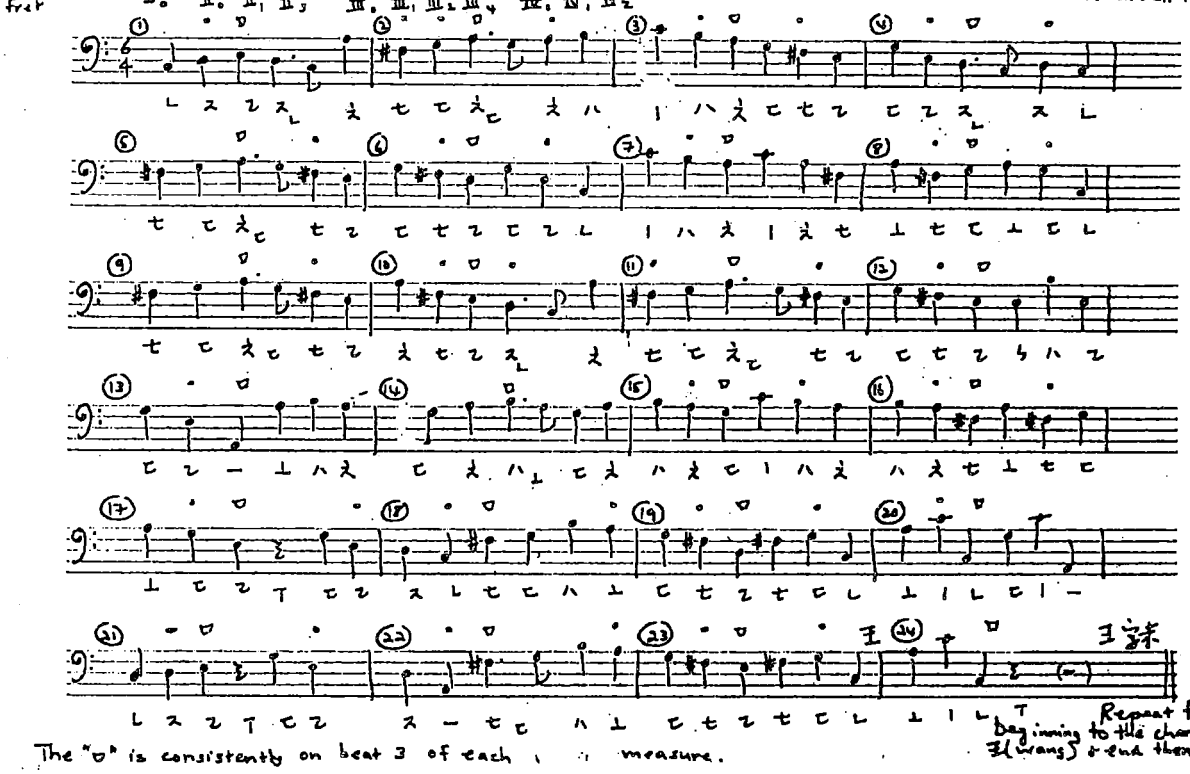
第二遍至 王家来.

Second Time: Repeat from the beginning to the character 王 (Wang) and end there.

PIECE NO. 18.　水鼓 Shuiguzi. Water Drum Melody.

Tabl. Symbols

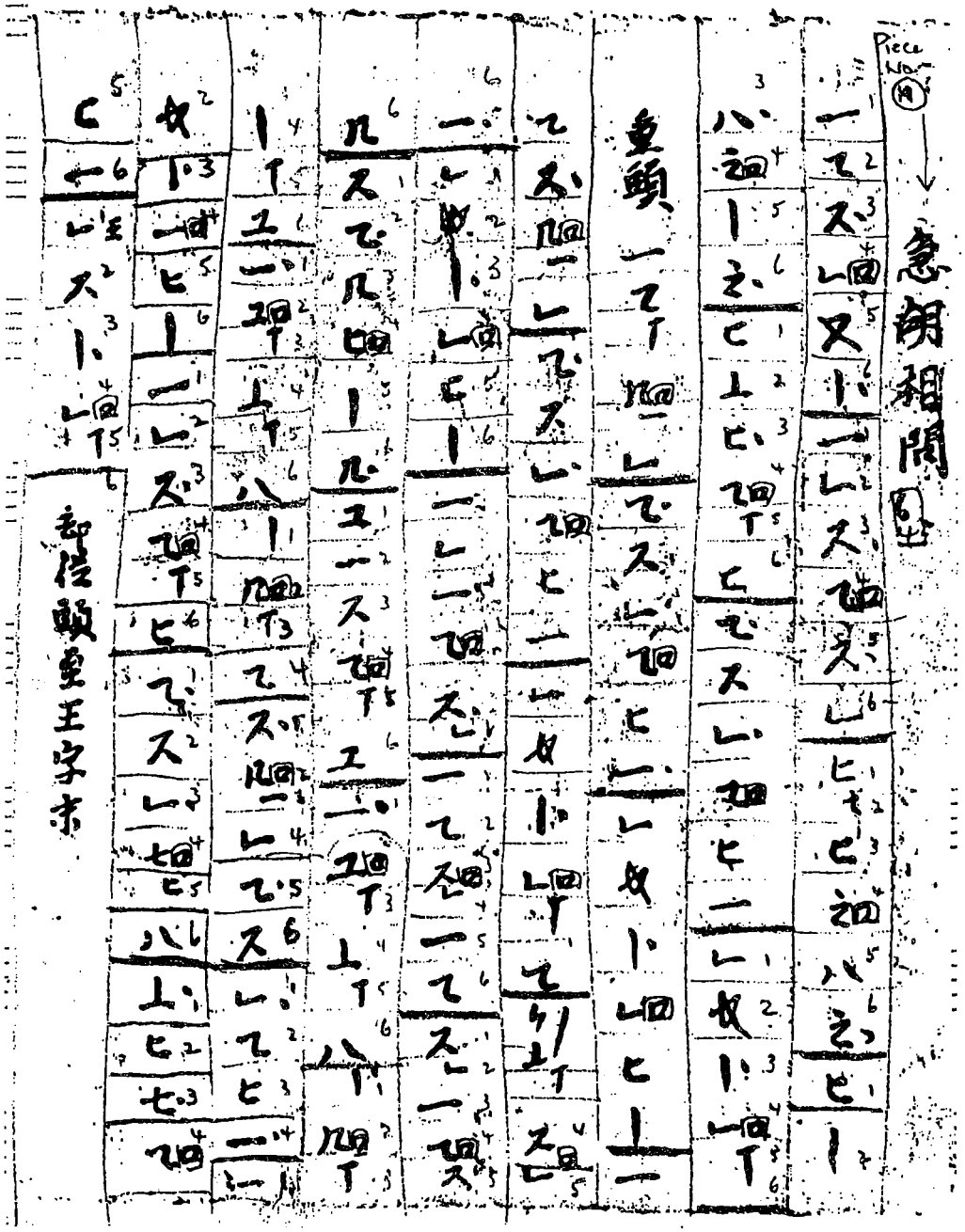
String, fret

C. Rockwell 1990

The "□" is consistently on beat 3 of each measure.

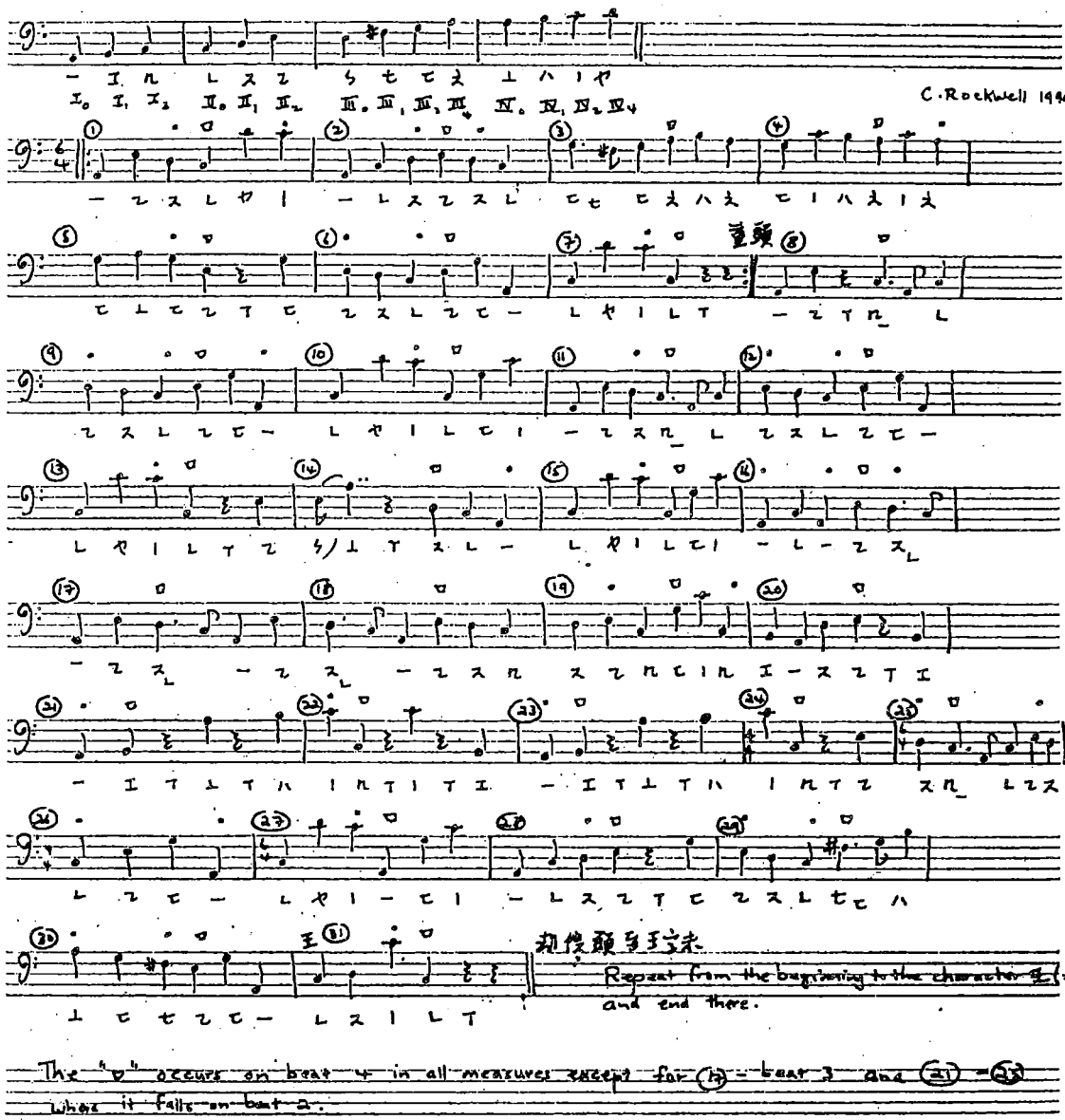
王家 Repeat from beginning to the character 王 (Wang) and end there.

急胡相問

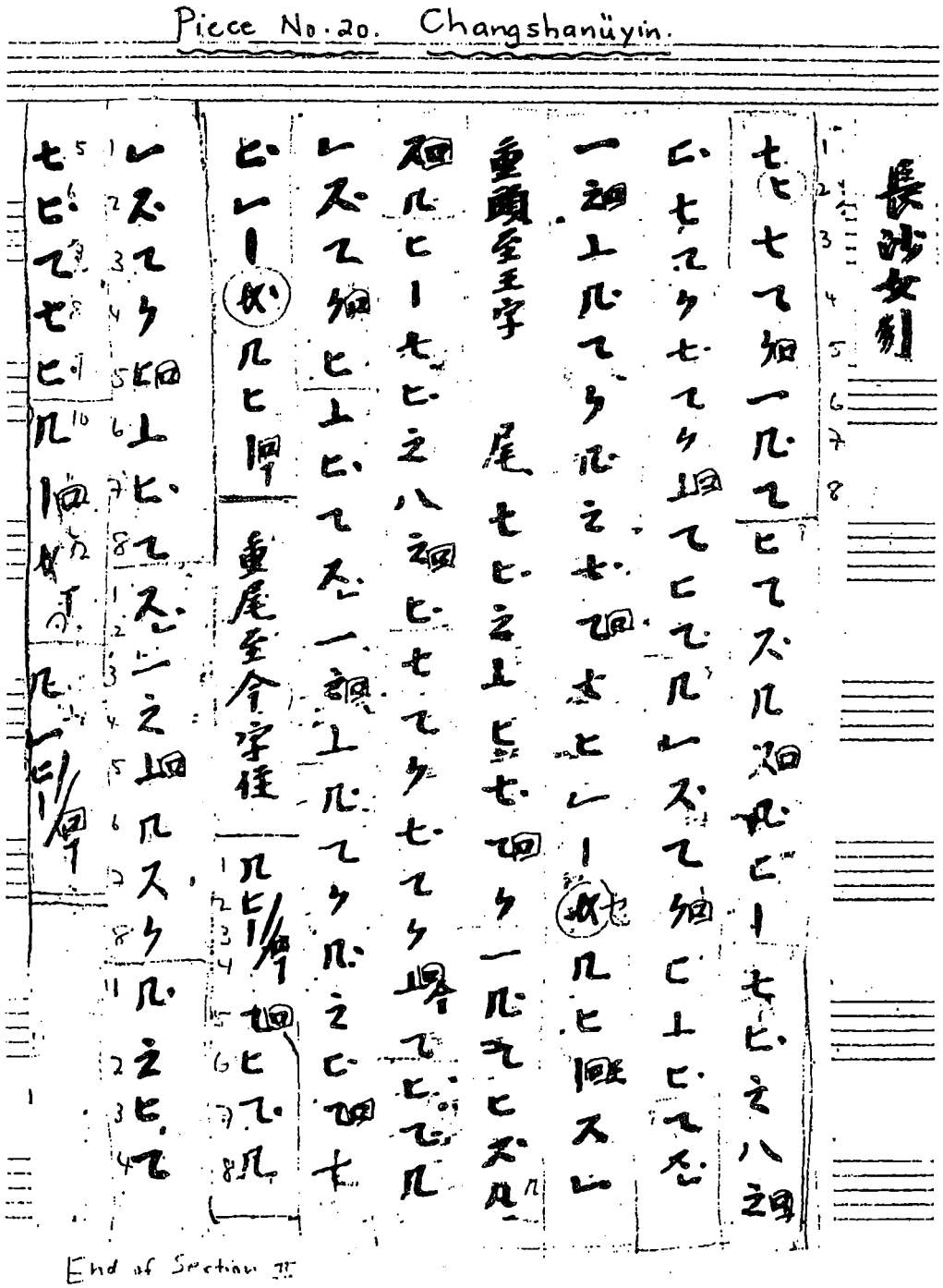
Piece No. 19 · Jihu Xiangwen · **Image 113**



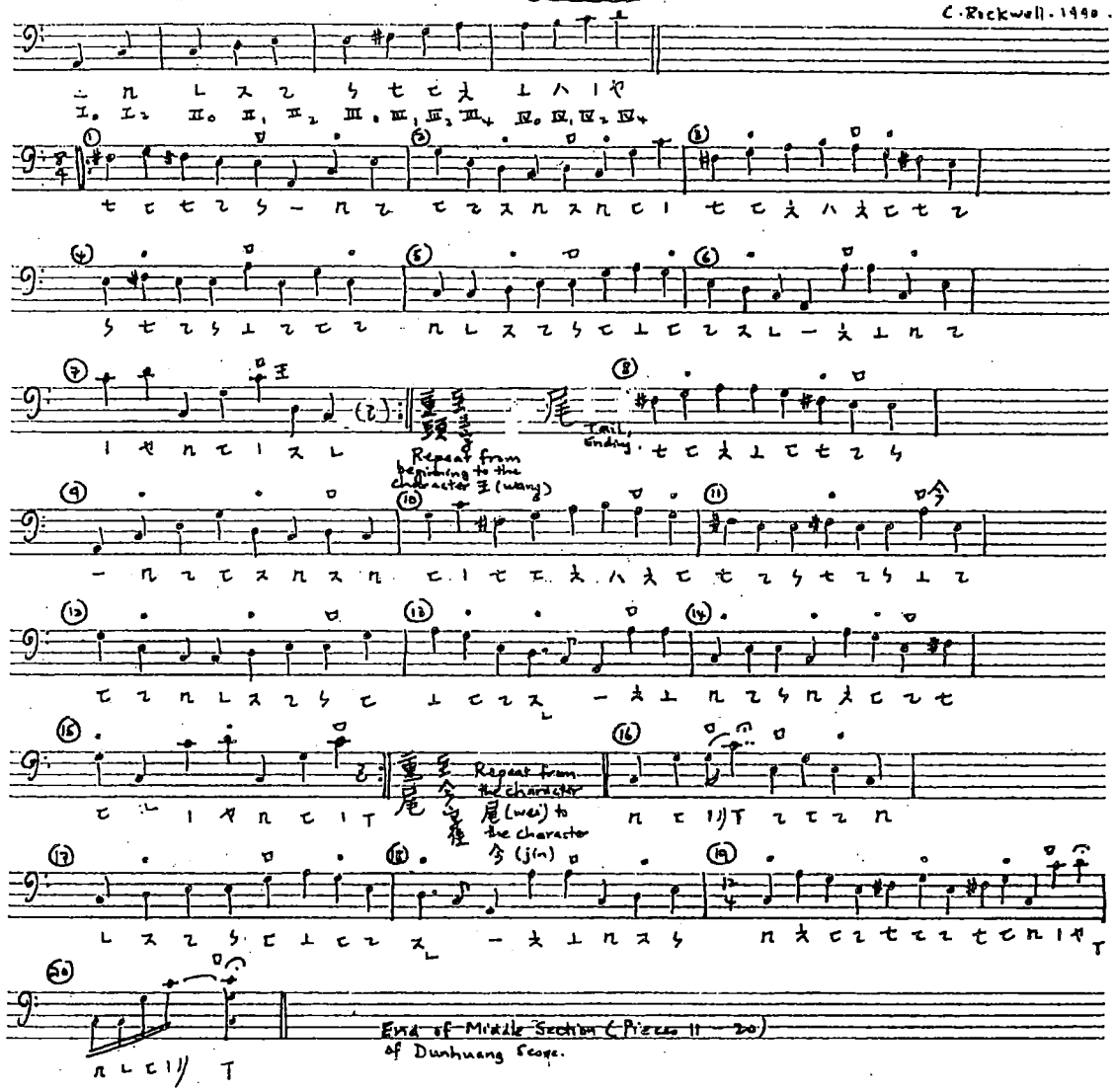
PIECE No.19 急胡相问 Jihu Xiangwen. ("The Barbarian Asks")

C.Rockwell 1990

The "▽" occurs on beat 4 in all measures except for (13) - beat 3 and (21) - (23) where it falls on beat 2.

長沙女引


Piece No.20. Changshanüyin.
長沙女引
重頭至三字尾
重尾至合字住
End of Section III

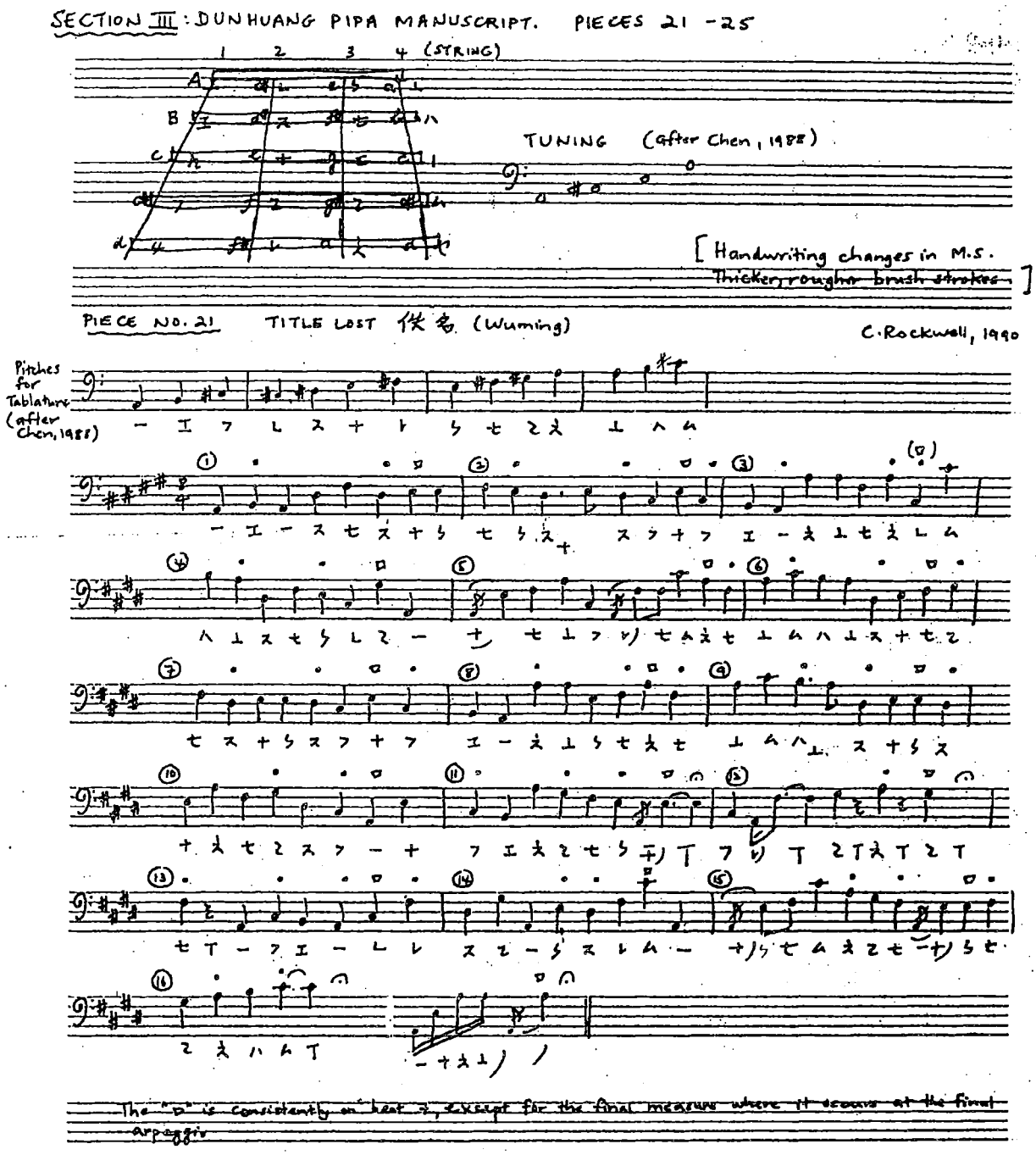
PIECE NO. 20 長沙女引 Changshanüyin. The Changsha Maiden.

C. Rockwell. 1990.

Repeat from beginning to the character 王 (wang)
Tail, Ending
Repeat from the character 尾 (wei) to the character 今 (jin)
End of Middle Section (Pieces 11 – 20) of Dunhuang Scope.

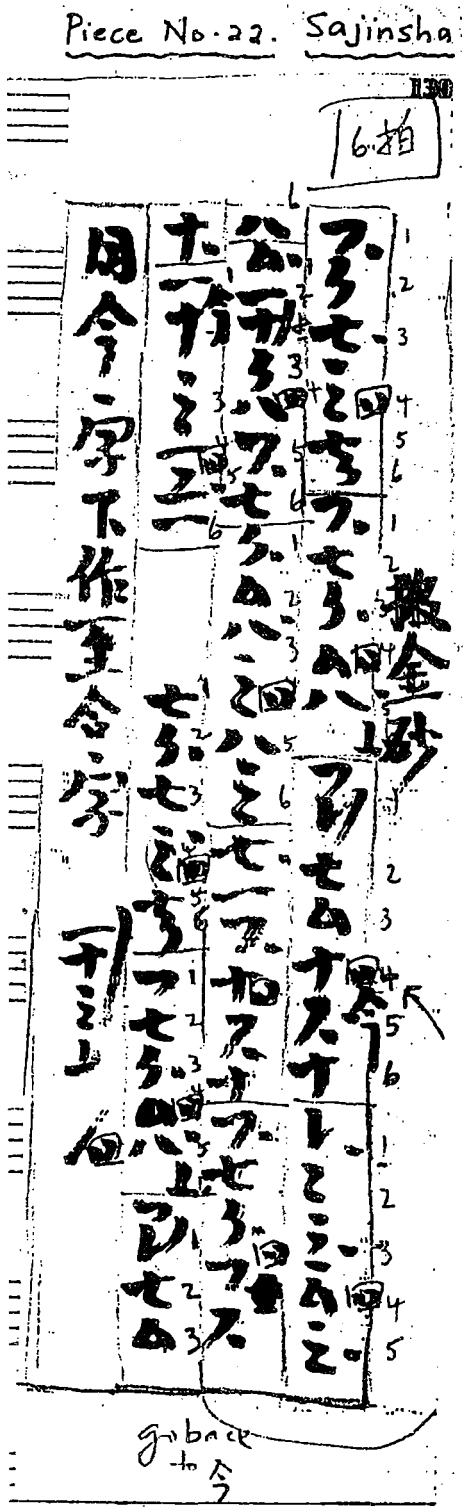
In the first section, measures ① – ⑦, the "▽" occurs consistently on beat 5
In the middle section, the "▽" position changes to beat 3
In the final section it returns to beat 5; measure 14 is in 12 beats, & the "▽" occurs on beat 11.

No Title

Piece No.21
Title lost
PLANCHE LVII
Image 114
124 123
#21
ANOTHER PIECE
侠名
New brush writing : implying
a new scribe.

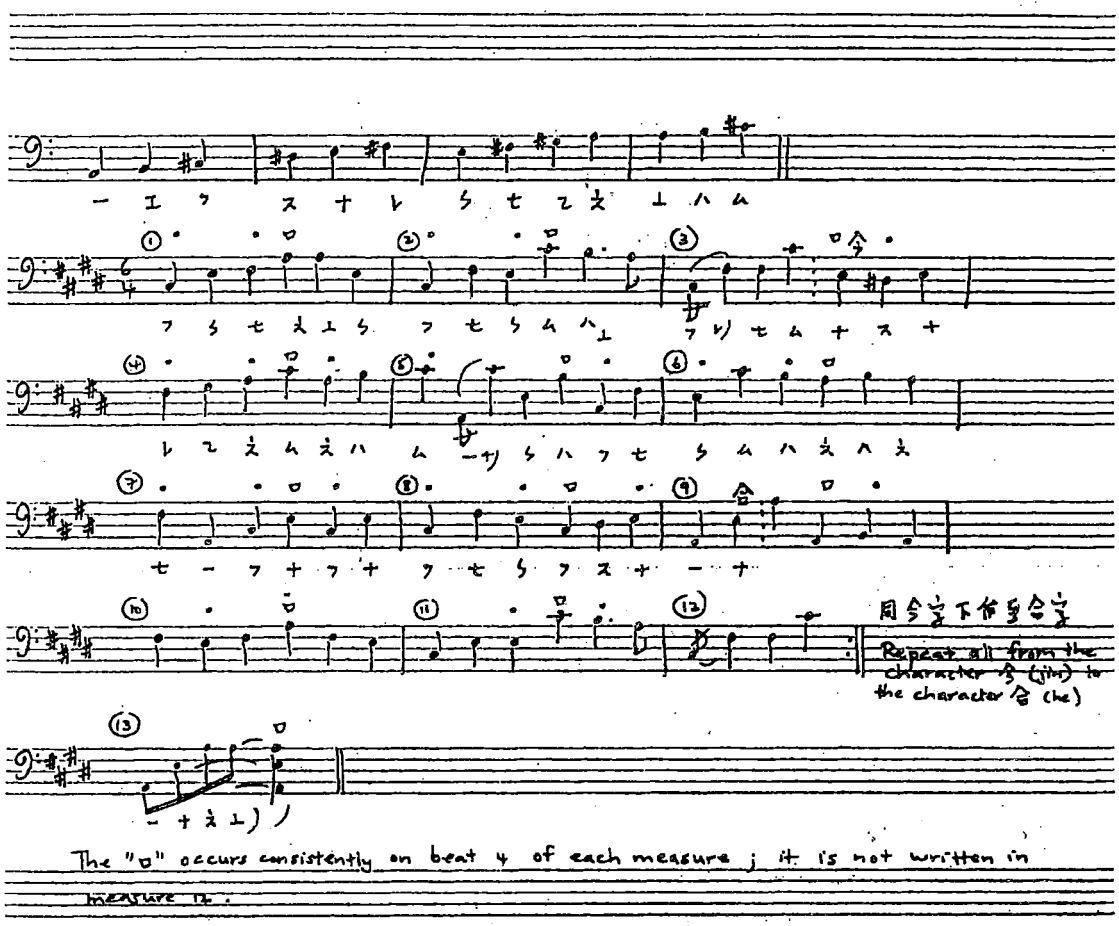

SECTION III: DUNHUANG PIPA MANUSCRIPT. PIECES 21 -25
1 2 3 4 (STRING)
A
B
C
d
TUNING (after Chen, 1988)
[Handwriting changes in M.S. Thicker, rougher brush strokes.]
PIECE NO. 21 TITLE LOST 佚名 (Wuming)
C. Rockwell, 1990
Pitches for Tablature (after Chen, 1988)
The "D" is consistently on beat 2, except for the final measure where it occurs at the final arpeggio

撒金沙



PIECE NO. 22 撒金砂 Sajinsha. "Scatter the Golden Sand." C. Rockwell 1990

5


Repeat all from the character 今 (jin) to the character 合 (he)
The "□" occurs consistently on beat 4 of each measure; it is not written in measure 12.

營富

Piece No. 23
Yingfu.

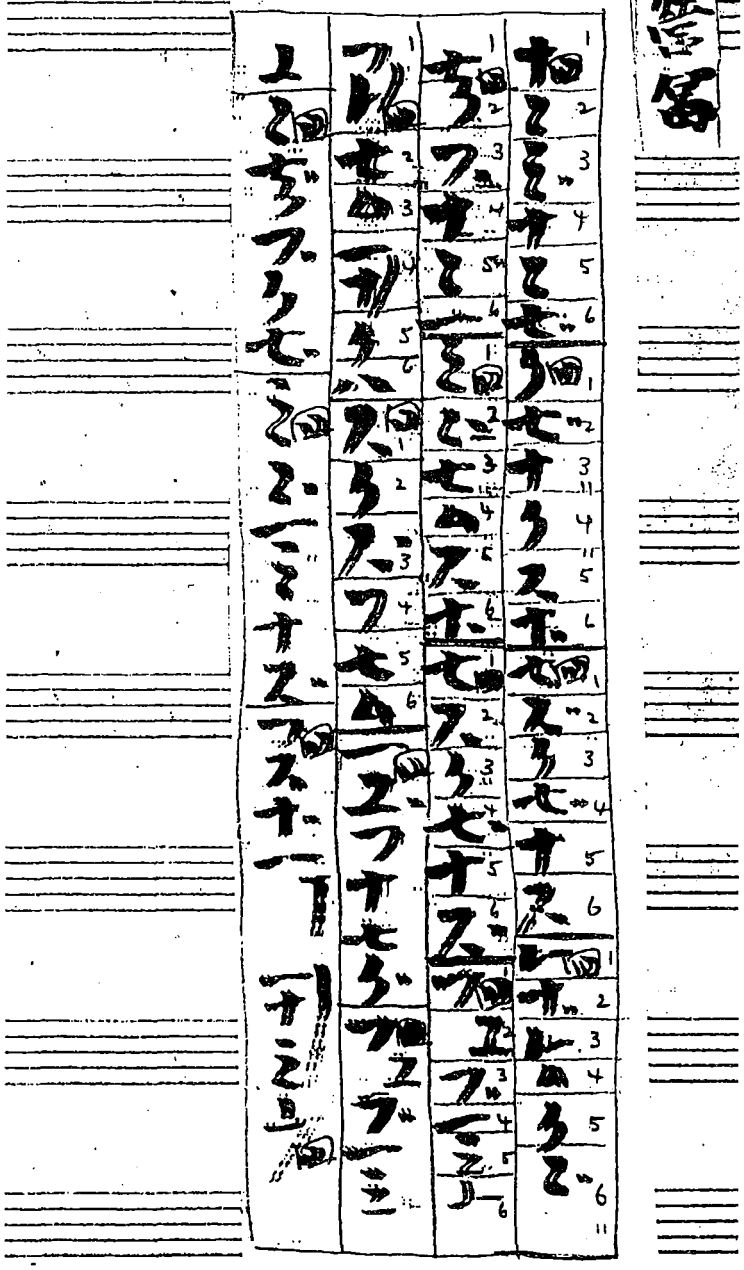
38. Pelliot chinois 3808 w[o]

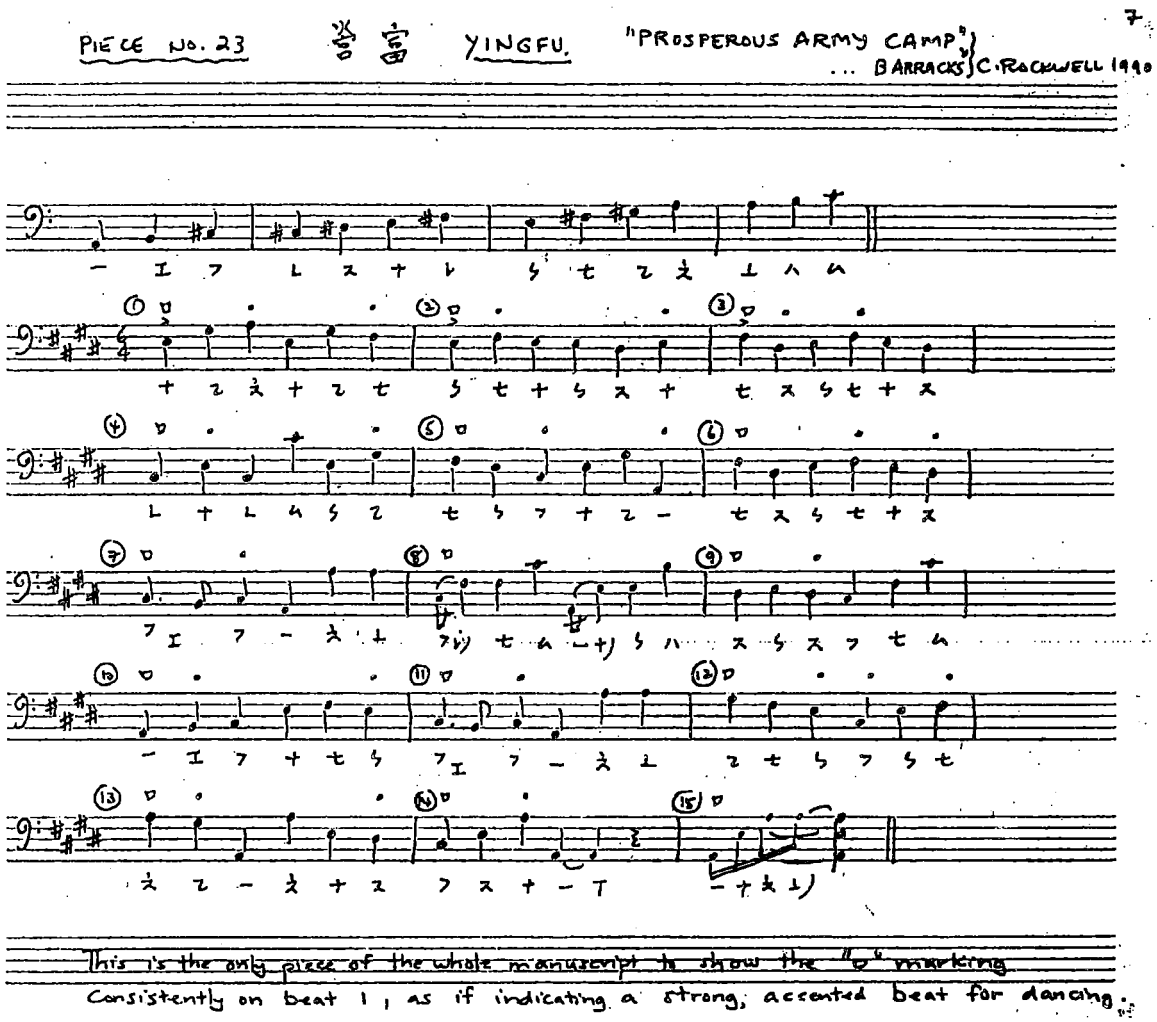
135

Cf. Introduction, p. 34

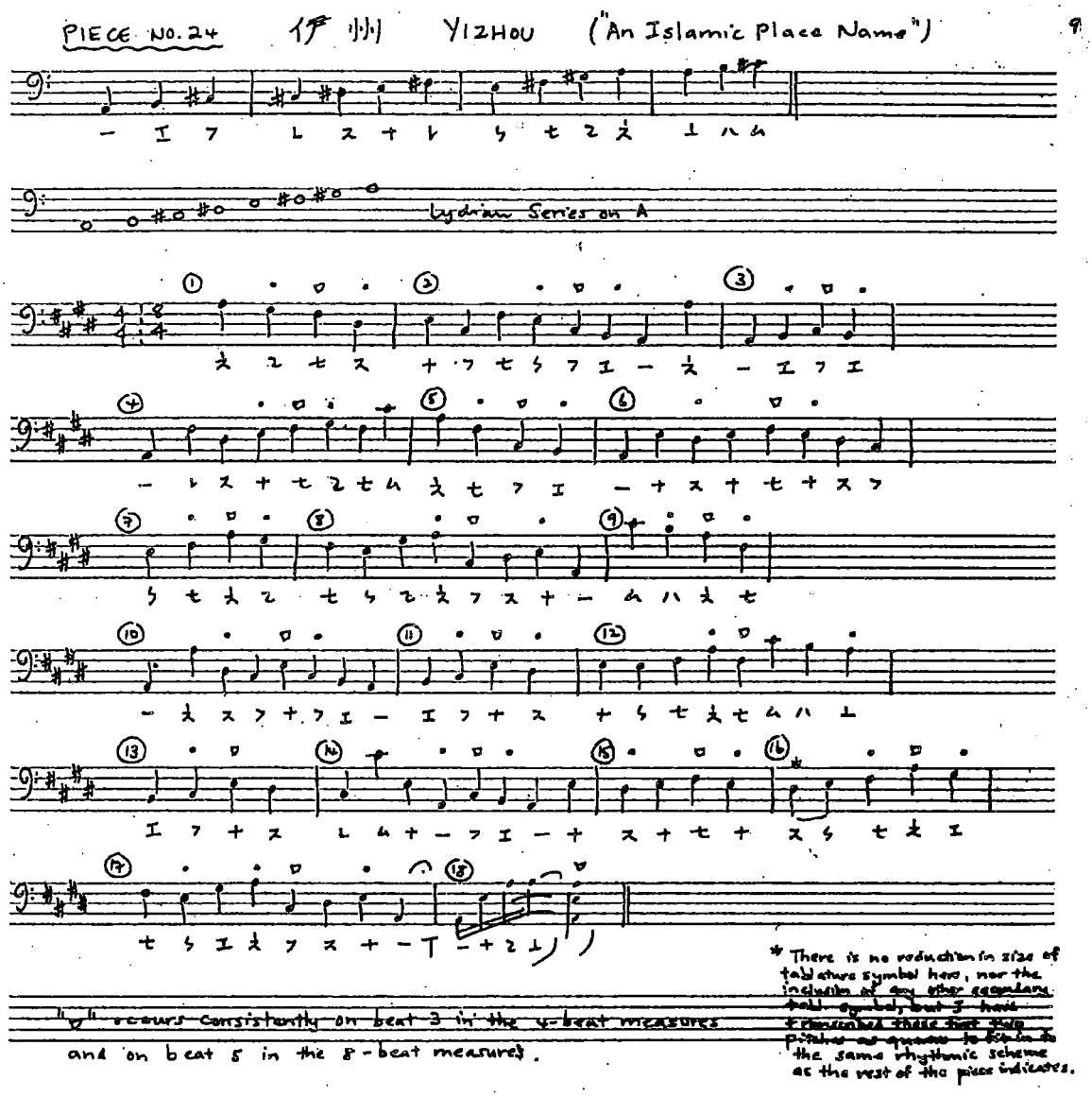
6拍

營富




PIECE NO. 23
YINGFU.
"PROSPEROUS ARMY CAMP"
... BARRACKS } C. RACKWELL 1990
This is the only piece of the whole manuscript to show the "D" marking consistently on beat 1, as if indicating a strong, accented beat for dancing.

伊州


PIECE NO. 24
伊州 YIZHOU ("An Islamic Place Name")
Lydian Series on A
"D" occurs consistently on beat 3 in the 4-beat measures and on beat 5 in the 8-beat measures.
* There is no reduction in size of tablature symbol here, nor the inclusion of any other secondary tabl. symbol, but I have remembered these beat 3/5 points as queues to fit in to the same rhythmic scheme as the rest of the piece indicates.

水鼓子

Piece No. 25. Shuiguzi.

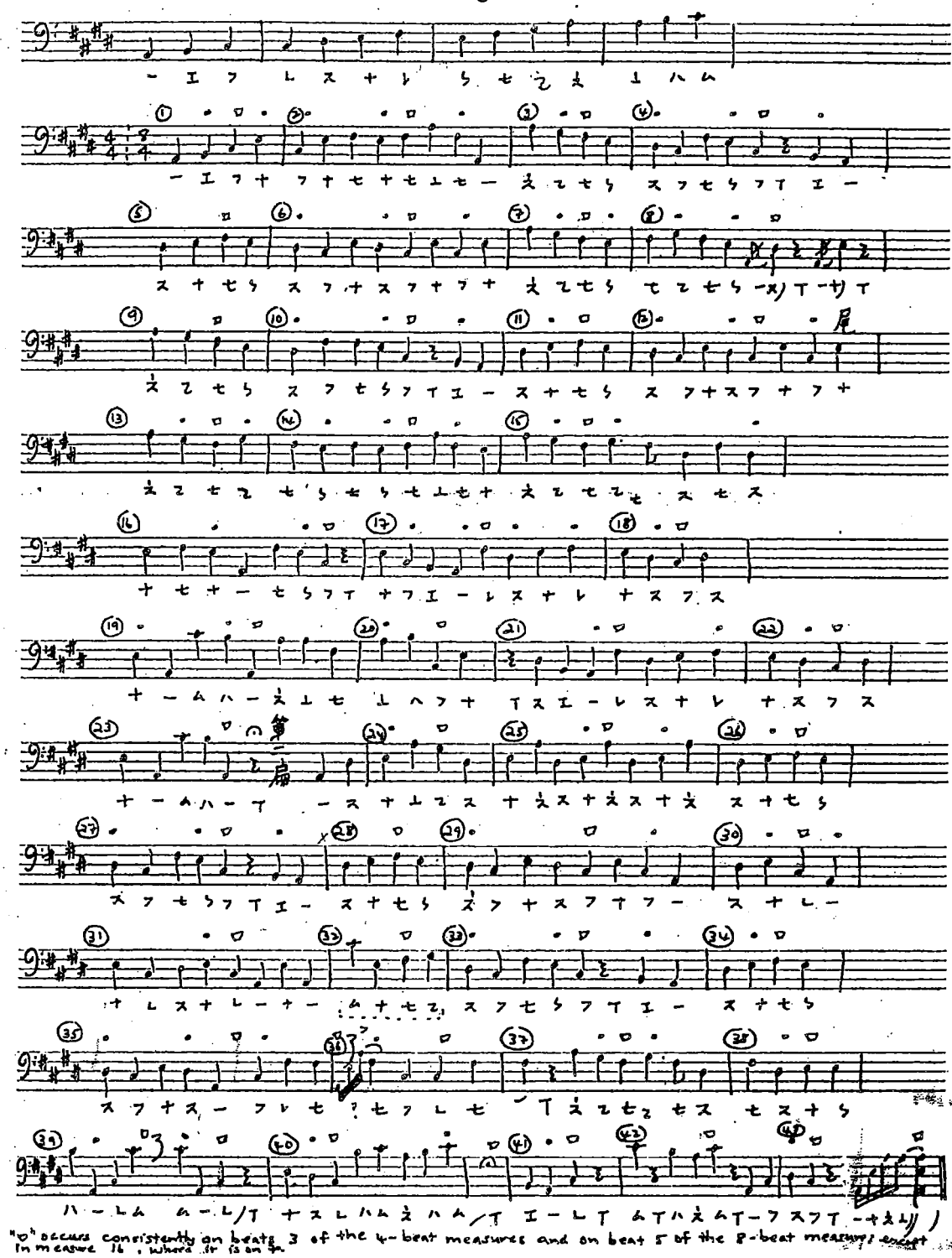
8. Pelliot chinois 3808 v°

Image 115

158

146

The longest piece in the manuscript.

PIECE NO. 25. 水鼓子. Shuiguzi. ("Water Drum Melody")

The "o" occurs consistently on beats 3 of the 4-beat measures and on beat 5 of the 8-beat measures, except in measure 16, where it is on 4.

Afterword

Composition of the scroll: sections, scales, modes, keys. Recognition of the scroll's tripartite structure rests on no explicit marking of 'Sections' in the text, but on the fact that three portions of the text were written by different scribes. This is indicated not only by changes in handwriting, but also by idiomatic changes in the marking of repeats, and in the use of individual forms of abbreviated characters by the different scribes (Picken 1971: 116).

Section 1

The first Section of the manuscript begins with two items in lute (= *pipa / biwa*) tablature, both of which lack drum-beat signs. The first is clearly headed: *pinnong*; the second: *nong*, preceded by an indistinct lexigraph, perhaps again *pin*. This first notated item includes substantial gaps. What remains readable does not, however, appear to be measured. The second piece (as Rockwell noted) divides regularly into sequences of 8 pitches, suggesting a measured structure in bars of 8 beats.

The lexigraph *pin* is a non-specific noun for small multiples of similar objects. It is still applied to 'frets' on the table of the modern *pipa*. The graph for the word *nong* originally showed 'two hands' and 'jade'. Its primary significance was probably 'to handle', with overtones of pleasure—hence its extended use: 'to play'—as an instrument or game. The compound *pinnong* presumably meant 'handling' or 'playing about with' the 'frets' and, by extension, the fret-positions where the four strings pass over the frets. The first of these is what we would call (on a fiddle) 'the nut' (see, for example, the figure in Elizabeth Markham 1983: I, 36). The first proper fret was at a pitch-distance of a tone from the nut; the remaining three frets, at the interval of a semitone from each other. *Pinnong*, we may take it, meant 'playing the frets'.

'Modal Preludes'. In her use of this term as an equivalent for *pinnong*, Rockwell perhaps adopted a term used by Wolpert (1981) as equivalent to the Japanese (and equivalent Chinese) terms *chōshi / diaozi* (literally 'mode') for a composition that fulfilled the same expository function. 'Modal Preludes' is what indeed items 1 and 2 of Section I appear to be, in the sense that they display, in sequence, groups of notes from which tunes characteristic of that mode might be fashioned.

Pieces Nos. 1 and 2 are of exceptional importance, however, in that they (unlike the pieces that follow them) each display the full potential note-set for items in this first Section. Both make use of f natural and f sharp; but while the compass of what survives of item 1 is a filled fifth on E, together with the fourth below (B), item 2 is heptatonic over the range of a tenth, with f natural as an accidental. In all, in this item there are 6 occurrences of the natural as compared with 12 of the sharp.

While the two modal preludes display all possible notes of the lower fifth of the octave above E, the pieces that follow in Section I make use in different pieces of different note-sets abstracted from the total of pitches available in item 2.

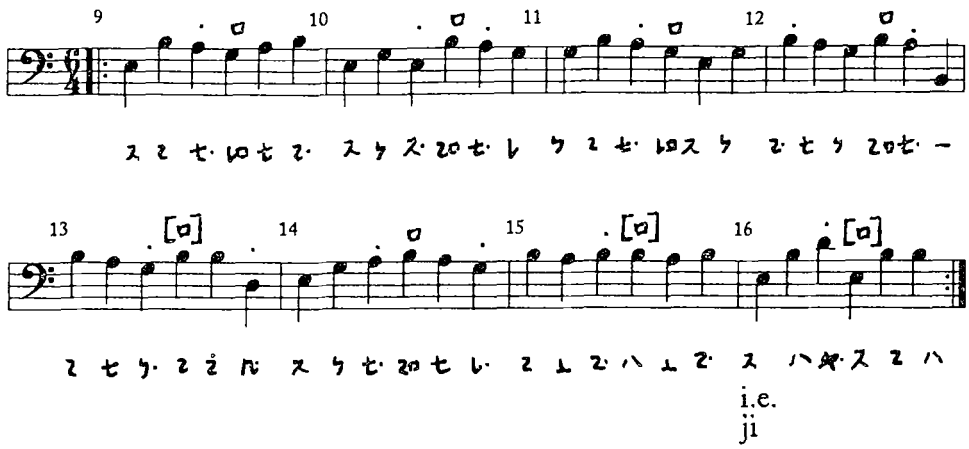
Piece No. 3 carries the historically important title of *Qingbeiyue* 'Emptying the Cup Music' (see, for example, Picken 1969: 607); but its relationship with the piece of that title which survives in Japanese *Tōgaku* ('Tang Music') today is not obvious, although the two share the same mode final. The piece is hexatonic (no f sharp). In setting out the note-set of this item, following the tuning of the open strings, Rockwell tentatively identifies the mode as 'Phrygian?' but the note-set displayed: B C D E F sharp G A b (= S T T T S T T) is in fact Greek Dorian in its semitone and tone sequence. The modality of the piece is indeterminate: as already noted, the f sharp is not sounded, and though the last note of the tune appears to be b, the status of that note as 'final' seems to be challenged by the fifth (E) below. The C cannot appear between the low B and D because of the standard fretting of the lute. In any case, if the final is judged to be b, this is not an orthodox Chinese mode, all of which began with a distance of not less than a whole tone between modal initial and following degree.

Pieces Nos. 4 and 5 are heptatonic, but with f natural. If e is final, inasmuch as the interval between modal initial and the note that follows is a semitone, it is, from a Chinese standpoint, an unorthodox mode in a Greek Dorian scale on E.

These questions concerning the modal ambiguity of items 2–5 might be resolved by weighted-scale analysis, as described by Nickson (1997).

Pieces Nos. 7 and 8 (with f sharp) are respectively heptatonic and hexatonic. The mode of the former equates with the note-set of Chinese *Jiaodiao* with f sharp and c as auxiliaries (*bian*), while the hexatonic piece lacks c.

A slip has occurred in the transcription of the hexatonic Piece No. 9: 'a quick piece' with a Coda in 6/4 [in Chinese, too, a 'tail' (*wei*)—short for 'tail-tune' (*weisheng*)]. In following the instruction that follows 'Repeat from the beginning, but only as far the character *ji*', approximately three measures have been omitted, and the piece appears to end on the dominant, b. If this omission is made good, however, the piece ends on the e. (This is also the note on which the following item, Piece No. 10, might be expected to end.) A provisional transcription of the completed Coda (and its repeat) in 9 is shown here.

Piece No. 10, however, is in Chinese pentatonic *Jiaodiao*, and lacks both auxiliaries: f sharp and c.

Piece No. 9: Coda

Section II

Like Section I, Section II includes 10 items. All are heptatonic and all make use of a Lydian note-set on C, with sharpened fourth, and seventh (f sharp and b) as auxiliaries. Unlike the first section, however, no summary 'modal prelude' (*pinnong*) introduces this section. All items exhibit some degree of dual modality, alternating between two aspects of the note-set, conveniently summarized as 'Dorian on A' and 'Lydian on C'. (For this discrimination of aspects of a mode, see under the heading 'Mode- and Key-Changes' below.) This is strikingly illustrated by item 11, in which the last four bars of the melody descend through a Lydian octave, from c downwards, finally leaping down from low C to A, before adding a final arpeggio C g c′.

In Piece No. 13, 'Moon over the Western River' (*Xijiangyue*), the melody shows marked separation of these two modal aspects. The repeating first section begins in A minor and ends in Lydian C major, with c as final, and this time endorsed by a C g c′ arpeggiato-chord (see also Wells 1993).

At times (in Section II) modal ambiguity is distributed throughout a tune, as in Piece No. 16, where the tune ends on C (reached from A); and the C g c′ arpeggio that follows is interrupted by the insertion of open-string A, following the low, open-string C. This perhaps implies that the A would be excited by a retrograde stroke after the C. The notes g c′ would then necessitate a downward stroke.

Piece No. 18, 'Water Drum Melody', is more nearly Lydian throughout. The apparent ending of the tune on the super-final (d′) in Piece No. 20 [Introit to] 'The Changsha Maiden' is at first sight extraordinary; but perhaps a single monosyllabic word of the lyric was delivered on the final arpeggio, where indeed a drum-beat is marked.

Section III

The concluding portion of the manuscript, Section III, consists of items in Lydian modality on A, again without preliminary modal exposition. Of the five items, Piece No. 22 is almost hexatonic, with d sharp (the sharpened fourth) occurring twice only in a structure of 12 x 6/4-bars, repeated.

Piece No. 23, 'Prosperous Army Camp' (*Yingfu*), in measures of 6 beats, is surely to be read as 6/4 rather than 3/2, in view of the many ternary sub-groups, of structure: a b a.

The concluding item, Piece No. 25, 'Water Drum Melody', bears the same title as Piece No. 18 in Section II. Like the latter, the piece may be barred for the most part in 3/2 with the principal drum-beat falling on the third crotchet / quarter-note; but unlike No. 18, Piece No. 25 consists of two specified sections: *bian* (a different *bian* from that meaning 'auxiliary') of approximately equal length. Preliminary examination suggests that Nos. 18 and 25 may be variants of each other. In the closing bars of Piece No. 25 (as hinted by Rockwell's transcription), arpeggiato-chords seem to be indicated at three points in the tablature, perhaps imitating powerful blows on 'the water-drum'.

The Suite-Analogy

The late Ye Dong (1982: 82) compared the three Sections of this manuscript with the structure of a typically tripartite suite of the Tang 'Entertainment Music' (*Yanyue*). Considered as a whole, however, Sections I to III do not in any way resemble the movements of any hitherto known Chinese cyclical musical structure, such as the *Daqu* / Japanese *Taikyoku* or 'Large Piece', known to us from the repertory of the Court Entertainment Music of the Tang, preserved as Japanese *Tōgaku*. The studies of the Cambridge-group have resulted in detailed knowledge of extended works in no less than seven different mode-keys (*chōshi / diaozi*) from that repertory, including entire transcriptions of eighteen Large Pieces:

(a) 3 *Daqu / Taikyokyu* in *Ichikotsu-chō*
(See Picken et al. 1981, 1985a);
(b) 5 *Daqu* in *Ōshiki-chō*,
2 *Daqu* in *Sui-chō*,
7 *Daqu* in *Banshiki-chō*,
1 *Daqu* in *Kaku-chō*
(See Marett 1976, 1977).

In the light of this body of evidence we may surely affirm that the contents of this manuscript are no Large Piece.

A number of items in *Gogen kinfu* (the score for 5-stringed lute, transcribed by Wolpert 1975, 1981), are indisputably 'large pieces' in their overall length; but the 'sections' into which they are divided—at times explictly—are not distinguished as differently named movements, differing in rhythmic structure in the way that movements of later Tang *Daqu* (such as those just mentioned) are. From this same manuscript, 'Fire Phoenix' (*Huofeng*) in the *Pingdiao* mode-key (Church Dorian on E) would surely have qualified by length as a large piece. This is also the case for 'Delivery of the Message to the Capital' (*Yidushi*) (same manuscript), in the same mode-key, and subdivided into thirteen sections serially numbered in the manuscript. In no instance do such 'sections' of extended compositions in *Gogen kinfu* resemble in structure the Sections or the items of Sections, in the Dunhuang-score.

Since, as yet, so few Chinese texts have been matched with what appear to be song-titles in the Dunhuang manuscript, we do not know—other than their literal meanings—what such terms as 'another piece', 'another slow piece' may really have signified. In the Court entertainment-repertory of the Tang, only single-movement items carry song-titles—for example: 'A Jade Tree's Rear-Court Blossom' (*Yushu houtinghua*), or 'The Eddying Bowl' (*Huibeiyue*) (Picken et al. 1985a: 1, 46). On the other hand, movements of large suites (*Daqu*) always have names that signify rhythm (measured or unmeasured), and / or tempo, or both. The absence of such features again makes improbable the suggestion that the Sections of this manuscript may have been parts of a single Large Piece.

Mode- and Key-Changes

Although the suites (so far examined) of the Tang Music preserved in Japan are in the same mode-key throughout, Nickson commented more than a decade ago on the 'changing aspects of the mode' to be observed in a single long movement [the Prelude of 'The Emperor Destroys the Formations' (Picken et al. 1981)]. (In this connection, see Nickson 1985.) Later in this same volume [p. 86, (5)], he drew attention to 'evidence that cycle-of-fifths relationships are operative in this music'. This is dramatically displayed in his astonishing lay-out of the entire Prelude (Table 7) on two facing pages (88 and 89). (See also Nickson 1988.)

The quasi-key-alternation, in item 13 of Section II of the Dunhuang manuscript, however, is something very different from progressive exploration of aspects of the mode, in part following the cycle-of-fifths. It is noteworthy that the music of extended items in the *Gogen kinfu* (already referred to)—a collection of pieces that may reflect aspects of musical structure from a yet earlier Chinese tradition—rarely exhibits shift in modal aspect in sub-sections, such as is seen in the Prelude of 'The Emperor Destroys the Formations'.

Yet again, the mode and key changes in pieces in Sections I, II, and III of Pelliot 3808, are something very different from changes in modal aspect. No other items of 'Tang Music' known to us show quasi-key- and mode-changes within the course of a piece, such as are displayed, in particular, in Section II of the Dunhuang lute-manuscript.

Rhythmic Interpretations

Reference has already been made in the Foreword to Rockwell's tacit rejection of the rhythmic interpretation of the manuscript offered by Chen Yingshi. She is also uninfluenced by that of Ye Dong. No explanation of this is given in her writings. It seems possible that she was more ready (than were Chinese scholars in general) to accept evidence (from the work of the Cambridge-group) that the principal drum-beat in the bar does not have to fall on the first beat in early Chinese music. Even though Chen Yingshi accepts the view that the small square represents the principal drum-beat or (in more general terms) the site of the principal ictus in the measure, he did not see fit (in his published transcriptions) to displace the note so marked from its initial position in the bar. This was presumably because the principal beat invariably occurs in that position in all Chinese music of today.

The six volumes of *Music from the Tang Court*, from 1981 onwards, have provided cumulative evidence of postponement of the principal beat in measures of 2/2 (to the 3rd beat of 4), 3/2 (to the 5th beat of 6), and 4/2 (to alternative positions of the beat on the 5th or 7th of 8). Bars of these numbers of beats, with bass-drum beats distributed in this fashion, will have been evident to Rockwell as soon as she began to examine this manuscript.

Ternary Metres in the Dunhuang Manuscript

The presence of 3/2 and 6/4 measures will not have surprised her as it did Chinese scholars, because she had already seen a movement, largely in measures of 3/2: the Entering Broaching of the suite: 'The Emperor Destroys the Formations' (Picken et al. 1981). As she commented in (4): He Changlin's criticism of Ye Dong as 'not consistent with traditional Chinese musical composition' in transcribing some items in 3/4 or 6/8, completely over-

looked the position of the small square-symbol in so many items in the Dunhuang score. She notes that 'He Changlin, Chen, Ye Dong, and many others . . . failed to acknowledge that triple time was obviously known and used in Tang music'.

In the metrical analysis of one type of tune, however, her decision to bar in 4/4 and 8/4 measures in alternation was surely mistaken. Understandably, acquaintance with the Tang Court repertory will have led her to think first in terms of binary rather than ternary measures. Indeed, in a piece such as 'Moon over the Western River' (*Xijiangyue*), Piece No. 13, with a principal drum-beat on the third note in the first bar, it was intelligent to think of this group first as three beats in a four-beat bar, since this is where the beat falls in a four-beat measure in the Tang Court Music preserved in Japan. When the succeeding sequence of tablature-signs showed a drum-beat on the fifth beat in eight, this in turn seemed to be an 8/4 bar, as it would in a Japanese *Tōgaku*-score.

A simpler rhythmic interpretation of this structure, however, is one in bars of 6 beats, in 3/2. Three such bars may indeed be thought of as a measure of 2/2 + a measure of 4/2; but 3/2 is a simpler interpretation. The position of the principal beat differs, however, from that in the 'Broaching'-movement in 3/2 from 'The Emperor Destroys the Formations', previously mentioned. There the principal drum-beat falls on beat 5 of 6; here it falls on beat 3 of 6.

This latter type of 3/2 is represented in no fewer than 11 items in the Dunhuang *pipa*-manuscript. While Rockwell [in Item 4 (1990)] reported 'no fewer than nine' examples of this kind (alternating 4/4 and 8/4), in the manuscript as a whole the proportion of pieces in ternary rhythm is in fact much higher.

In all, there are twelve items of 3/2 (11 with the drum-beat on 3, 1 with the drum-beat on 1) and five items of 6/4 (4 with the drum-beat on 4, 1 with the drum beat on 1). That is to say, the total of ternary items, both 3/2 and 6/4, is 17. Out of a total of 25 items, this amounts to 68 per cent.

This last percentage alone calls in question the view that Pelliot 3808 is 'Chinese music' in any previously accepted sense. It certainly is not a sample of Chinese music as represented by the *Tangyue / Tōgaku* tradition. That it should rather be regarded as music of a provincial region, strongly under 'foreign' influence, is suggested by the rich variety of rhythmic structures apparent in Rockwell's transcriptions. In a number of items a single time-signature does not suffice for an entire piece. Items not infrequently display a degree of rhythmic irregularity quite uncommon in the *Tōgaku* tradition. Furthermore, as already described in this Afterword, pieces in the Dunhuang manuscript may exhibit marked divergence from standard Tang-Chinese models of modality.

Ternary and Binary Groups of Notes

A remarkable feature of certain tunes in this collection is that they plainly move in ternary rather than binary units; in groups of three, such as: a b a = I V I. Where this behaviour is apparent the only appropriate time-signature is 6/4.

Some Melodic Features of Dunhuang Tunes

Regarding the melodic lines of the tunes themselves, it is important to bear in mind that the instrument is a lute, the plucked sounds of which decay rapidly. Remembering the relationship between lute-scores (= *gakubiwa*-scores) of *Tōgaku* and the simpler melodic line of the free-reed mouth-organ (*shō / sheng*), it seems probable that the *pipa*-line is a decorated version of a melody of fewer notes to the measure, in some instances undoubtedly a vocal melody.

Conspicuous use of appoggiaturas and *échappés* by the *pipa* tends to obscure the underlying structure of the tune from which it derives; but the conspicuous pitches on notes at the drum-beats (1 to each measure) in Piece No. 6, for example—'A quick piece'—disclose a twelve-bar structure familiar—in its harmonic implications—to a Western ear:

e b g
a b e
d a a
b b e

On this occasion the subject of tune-structure in the Dunhuang manuscript will not be further examined. It may be emphasized, however, that the range of cadence-formulae exhibited by these pieces differs strikingly from what has hitherto been observed in *Tōgaku / Tangyue* examples.

Of all investigators since Hayashi Kenzō, Rockwell was the first to look at Pelliot 3808 with eyes familiar with the Palace tradition of the Tang capital, Chang'an, as it survives in the earliest Sino-Japanese manuscript-tablatures. Her boldness, independence, and courage went beyond those of others. Her careful work shows that the contents of this manuscript are something different from the Chang'an tradition of the early Tang—say of the sixth and seventh centuries AD. Precisely what musical culture is reflected in this manuscript, however, is for the future to decide. One may be sure that Rockwell recognized the courage displayed by Hayashi Kenzō in boldly transcribing what the manuscript showed, regardless of precedent, regardless of accepted opinions. She follows him with confident and conscious authority.

For purposes of reproduction, copies of Coralie Rockwell's edited facsimiles of original scores in tablature, together with her hand-written transcriptions and commentary, were made on a laser-photocopier in the Photographic Department (Mr G. D. Bye) of the University Library, Cambridge, by

Mr Tim Nicholas of that Department, under the supervision of Mr Peter Tregear (University of Melbourne, and King's College, Cambridge). A debt of gratitude is owed to the Bibliothèque Nationale and to the Centre Nationale de Recherche Scientifique for publication in facsimile of this unique musical document—a debt Coralie Rockwell would surely have wished to acknowledge. For supportive advice, Laurence Picken remains indebted to Professor Éric de Dampierre, Université de Paris X, Nanterre.

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